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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

●
July-August, 1943

THE BEVERIDGE PLAN FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

The University of Southern California

● The report on Social Insurance by Sir William Beveridge is one of a number of reports to be issued by the British government on various phases of postwar planning. This one happens to be the first. It is the result of a careful study of the economic condition of the British masses as well as of the insurance and social service programs that have been in operation in recent years. The report recognizes five major evils that must be overcome: want, ignorance, disease, squalor, and idleness. The problem of want, and to some extent that of disease, forms the subject matter of this exhaustive survey.

The outcome of this study is an elaborate plan for social security which embodies a scheme of social insurance aimed to prevent the destruction of earning power and to insure individuals against the expenditures incident to birth, marriage, and death.

The surveys and investigations made prefatory to the plans outlined by the committee show results somewhat surprising to American readers, as the following quotation seems to reveal:

Want could have been abolished before the present war by a redistribution of income within the wage-earning classes without touching any of the wealthier classes. This is said not to suggest that redistribution of income should be confined to the wage-earning classes; still less is it said to suggest that men should be content with avoidance of want—with subsistence incomes. It is said simply as the most convincing demonstration that abolition of want just before the war was easily within the

economic resources of the community. Want was a needless scandal due to not taking the trouble to prevent it. (Pp. 165-66.)

It is contended that want cannot be abolished by merely increasing production. A better distribution of the product has become necessary—distribution, not in the sense that the word is used in economics, but in its application to the distribution of purchasing power among the wage earners themselves. Social insurance and children's allowances are considered methods of distributing wealth.

Guiding principles. The report sets forth three guiding principles: first, all proposals must subordinate sectional to national interests; second, social insurance is one part only of a comprehensive policy of social progress; third, social security must be achieved by means of co-operation between the individual and the state.

Although sectionalism is less serious in Great Britain than in the United States, it was at once recognized that a larger program must be developed on a nation-wide basis and that administration must be centralized. The existing insurance measures allow too much leeway to local feeling and attitudes, and therefore the desired uniformity is not attained. Contributions by beneficiaries, as is the case with private insurance, maintain wholesome attitudes and do not create a pauper state of mind.

A comprehensive plan. The new plan proposes to reach everybody. It divides the population into six groups as follows:

Employees

Persons independently employed

Housewives, that is, married women of working age

Others of working age not employed

Children under working age

Retired persons over working age

Contributions must be made by the first, second, and fourth groups, but benefits are obtained by all. Certain

adjustments are required according to the type of need, but the amount for each type is uniform.

Since the report is most elaborate and covers all important points in great detail, this article will attempt to outline the major propositions only and will be unable to present the comparisons with present legislation and with the situations in other countries that are noted.

Plan I. The social insurance plan covers unemployment, disability, old age, maternity grants, widowhood, and industrial accident. Simplification of the administration of the law will be obtained by requiring a single contribution for the benefits to be received, instead of requiring workers to contribute to one fund here and to another there. If allocations must be made, that task falls to the social insurance board. Accordingly, the contributor is not constantly annoyed and perplexed because of the variety of deductions.

Again, a flat rate of contributions will be required of all persons regardless of income. New Zealand is the only country in the world that has adopted this plan, and the Beveridge Report concluded that this was the right and desirable method. Such a plan lessens the need of constant calculation of the amount that each beneficiary must pay. The amount is fixed once for all, and each individual knows exactly what his outlay will be for the service that he receives. However, the rates are somewhat higher for men than for women. This difference is needed to provide for those married women who are not gainfully employed but are dutifully keeping house for husband and family. Laborers, whether paid poorly or well, make identical contributions. The rates are based on an estimate of the amount necessary to provide the needed benefits according to the plan.

The flat rate of contribution is matched by a flat rate of benefit. In this respect the plan is an agreeable step for-

ward. People cannot be rescued from want if because of previous low wages their benefits will be apportioned to the wages they have received, as is the plan under our own system of unemployment compensation and old-age and survivors' benefits. The minimum cost of decent living is a definite and fixed sum and does not vary according to one's former wages or income. The number of calories required to sustain the body cannot be apportioned to wage rates, nor can necessary clothing vary with one's pocket-book. Accordingly, the plan fixes a definite sum supposed to be sufficient to maintain an ordinary person or a family, and agrees to pay that sum whether the individual is unemployed, is disabled, or has retired. The tentative rates suggested are forty shillings per week for husband and wife in case of unemployment, disability, or old age and twenty-four shillings for single persons in need of similar benefits. These rates would not necessarily become operative immediately but would be reached after a period of twenty years. Retirement funds are to be paid men on arriving at the age of sixty-five and women on attaining sixty.

Unemployment benefits are to continue as long as unemployment lasts, but special measures are to be undertaken to assure the government that the unemployed person is not malingering. After a certain length of time the insured persons are required to attend a work or training center. Disqualifications continue against persons who refuse suitable employment or who were dismissed for misconduct or left their work voluntarily without just cause.

Disability benefits are to be paid as long as insured persons are physically incapacitated for work from any cause. The benefits will continue throughout the working age or until they are replaced by industrial pensions.

The unification of the various benefit systems under one department instead of five, as at the present time, also in-

volves the workmen's compensation system, which will no longer be separately managed but will be integrated into the general insurance plan. Industrial accidents, however, will be subjected to differentiated treatment; and, if the disability lasts more than thirteen weeks, benefits will be replaced by industrial pensions.

Every married woman will at time of maternity receive a contribution of four pounds, and gainfully employed women will receive in addition a maternity benefit of thirty-six shillings per week for a period of thirteen weeks.

Plan II. A second plan deals with the problem of medical care. A radical change from the present system of health insurance is advocated. The medical service under present laws is still quite inadequate, and health conditions can afford improvement. The new plan accepts the assumptions made by the Medical Planning Commission of the British Medical Association, which are that it is necessary:

(a) to provide a system of medical service directed toward the achievement of positive health, of the prevention of disease, and of the relief of sickness.

(b) to render available to every individual all necessary medical services, both general and special and both domiciliary and institutional.

With support such as is denoted by these resolutions the Beveridge report was enabled to proceed rather fearlessly toward the goal of suggesting a program that would comprehend adequate care of all, rich and poor alike, employed or unemployed. The plan is as follows: medical treatment covering all requirements will be provided for all citizens by a national health service organized under the health departments, and postmedical rehabilitation treatment will be provided for all persons capable of profiting by it. (P. 11.) Furthermore, medical treatment will be separated from cash benefits.

Contributions will be required from beneficiaries for themselves and for their dependents. The tax will be included with the other assessments so that the contributor will suffer no confusion. The national board will turn over to the health department the sums that have been collected. To what extent the private practice of medicine will remain is a subject that has given the committee little concern. The main objective is adequate medical care of the people, and no red flag such as "socialized medicine" has scared it from the chief purpose of establishing a system by virtue of which "every citizen will be able to obtain whatever treatment his case requires, at home or in an institution, medical, dental, or subsidiary, without a treatment charge." (P. 162.)

Since disability benefits will not be given to housewives who are exempt from making contributions, it is planned that in case of sickness they may be provided with necessary help. Such help would be part of the welfare service of the hospital and given on recommendation of the medical staff.

Although these suggestions represent the general conclusions of the report, it appears that there is no desire to eliminate the many private hospitals that have grown up during the years. Probably a certain amount of service will be expected of them on a semiphilanthropic basis.

Plan III—children's allowances. Want, since 1918, has been due almost entirely to two causes, interruption or loss of earning power and large families. Benefits cannot be maintained at a level that would be uniform for small and large families alike. The actual situation can be met by means of a minimum benefit that lifts the childless family above the poverty line and supplementary benefits to families having more than one child. The country also suffers from a high degree of childlessness, and it is claimed that at the present rate of reproduction the British race cannot continue. Gradually the population will de-

cline. A means of reversing the present trend must be found. Plan III, therefore, deals not only with the problem of want but with population needs as well.

Children's allowances will not cause couples who wish to remain childless to have children, but it is expected to ease the financial burden of those families who want children and are deterred at present because of the additional costs that the nurture of children requires. Since the foundations of health and vigor must be laid in early life, adequate care of children has become an accepted principle, and some method of supplementing the income of families with children must be provided.

It seemed unwise from a practical standpoint to finance children's allowances from the general insurance fund. Therefore, it is planned to provide the money entirely out of taxation income. Children's allowances should be regarded as an expression of the community's direct interest in children, but in order to simplify the management of the service the allowances are to be administered by the Ministry of Social Security and not by a special department to be called into existence for this purpose.

There will be no allowance for parents with one child only, but the grants are to begin with the second child and will be uniform in amount for each of the additional children. Few men's wages are insufficient to cover the cost of living of two adults and one child. Therefore, there will be no allowance for a one-child family when the responsible parent is at work. The report discusses the costs of child care and accepts the reasoning that six children do not cost six times as much as one child and that costs vary with the ages of children, but any system that would be required to make constant adjustments in respect to amount of allowance becomes exceedingly complicated. Consequently, an average sum of eight shillings per week for all children eligible for the benefit is suggested as a

desirable plan. This benefit is to continue until the child is sixteen if he is carrying a full-time educational program.

Plan IV—abolition of the Poor Law. The Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, which has long since been an anachronism, is to be abolished and a modern method of handling such needy cases as will not be covered by social insurance substituted. The change, however, does not include provision for institutional care; that is, the almshouse is not abolished.

The functions formerly performed by local authorities in granting relief will be transferred to the Ministry of Social Security and will consequently be under national control. There will be but one authority to administer assistance, and uniform tests for eligibility for relief can then be instituted. This plan constitutes a tremendous forward step. It is proposed, on the other hand, that the task of relief-giving be decentralized and local officers who are acquainted with the problems and circumstances of their localities be used. Such officials are answerable to the national board but should be capable of direct cooperation with the local authorities.

Assistance will be given adequately up to the subsistence level, but the amount must fall short of that provided as insurance benefit. Otherwise insurance would be meaningless. Social case work is contemplated, and the behavior as well as the means of the applicants given consideration. The cost is to be borne by the national treasury. Opportunity for administrative discretion should be increased and regulations adopted which will make consistent but also differential treatment possible in respect to both time and space. Certain special assistance problems will remain, and for these special legislation may prove necessary.

Plan V—voluntary insurance. Beyond the field of compulsory insurance lies the field of voluntary insurance.

Its scope is twofold: (a) to go beyond subsistence levels in meeting general risks and (b) to deal with risks and needs which, while sufficiently common for insurance, are not so common or uniform as to call for compulsory insurance.

The state can encourage such insurance by means of regulation, financial assistance, or by itself undertaking the organization of a system. Thrift should be encouraged. It is a valuable national asset and savings should be increased. Voluntary insurance to supplement state insurance is most desirable. Accordingly, it is proposed that an Industrial Assurance Board be established under the Ministry of Social Security. "This board would be authorized to undertake ordinary life assurance, subject to a maximum of amount insured, say three hundred pounds, in order to prevent its entry into the general field of life assurance." (P. 145.) The board would reduce the costs of such insurance and limit the amount granted to policyholders so that such persons might not carry loads beyond their capacity. The report adds this ominous sentence, "This proposal is bracketed as desirable, but not essential."

Administration. One of the greatest reforms is in the field of administration. Social insurance, children's allowances, and assistance measures will be placed under the care of a Ministry of Social Security with local offices within reach of all insured persons. The arguments in favor of this change are the following:

It is convenient for the insured person to deal with one authority "instead of being bandied about from pillar to post."

It avoids disputes between conflicting jurisdictions.

It avoids overlapping and duplication.

It simplifies provision for new needs.

It provides absolute security of benefit.

It provides uniformity of benefit rates and conditions except in so far as differentiation is justifiable.

It simplifies procedure for the determination of claims to benefits when questions arise for answer.

The changes proposed in the report are classified under twenty-three different captions. Many of these, however, deal with details of the general plan and not with the broad program which the report offers to the British people for adoption. The major suggestions without elaboration on detail or inclusion of all exceptions are herein presented. A complete discussion of the report would cover many additional pages, but the outlines as given should enable the reader to obtain a fairly satisfactory picture of the social insurance plan that Britain has in prospect.

SOCIAL WORK AND THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

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● It has long been recognized that sociology has more in common with social work than perhaps any other social science has. Nevertheless, the relationships between the two have not been sufficiently studied and delineated. The usual conclusion of those who have been concerned with the question is that sociology is interested in groups and social work in individuals. Social practice, they contend, could be guided by scientific knowledge; but, inasmuch as it is guided in part "according to prevailing fads and fancies," social workers have little interest in the science of society.¹ The American Sociological Society did not take cognizance of the problem until 1921 and then only in a hesitating fashion. The sociologists recognized that the data of social work might be worthy of "scientific analysis"; but the social workers did very little to foster cooperation except to declare that, as they were not interested in "theory," sociology was of little value to them. The usual way for the sociologist to impress the social worker with the importance of sociology was to make a study of academic courses which social workers considered to be basic in understanding human problems. The returns from such questionnaires convinced at least the sociologists that their subject was of great importance to social workers. Social workers, on the other hand, when discussing the question with sociologists, were generally critical of the value of sociology and often contemptuous of the subject, stating that it could contribute to their knowledge only after it became a genuine science of hu-

¹ Frank Hankins, "The Contributions of Sociology to the Practice of Social Work," *Proceedings National Conference of Social Work* 1930, p. 529.

man behavior. Despite the lack of insight into the problem, there was interest. Professor Thomas D. Eliot emphasized that social workers were interested in sociology; otherwise, they would not criticize it, for "one does not stop to kick a dead horse."²

Most sociologists and social workers were not sufficiently conversant with one another's fields to understand the interrelations between sociology and social work. Fortunately, there were sociologists, like Stuart A. Queen,³ Thomas D. Eliot,⁴ J. F. Steiner,⁵ and Arthur J. Todd,⁶ who had had experience in social work. There were likewise social workers, such as M. J. Karpf⁷ and Frank J. Bruno,⁸ who had had training and experience in sociology. It was the work of these pioneers who studied the problem objectively that enabled Professor Robert M. MacIver to write his monograph on *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work*, the most definitive statement on the subject.⁹

Professor MacIver pointed out that sociology enables the social worker to view society and its problems objectively. A knowledge of sociology assists the social worker in the formulation of an emotional attitude that is essential to the best social work practice.¹⁰ Such a contribution

² As quoted by M. J. Karpf, "The Development of the Relations between Sociology and Social Work," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 21: 214.

³ Stuart A. Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1922).

⁴ Thomas D. Eliot, *The Juvenile Court and the Community* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914).

⁵ J. F. Steiner, *Education for Social Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921); *Community Organization* (New York: The Century Company, 1925).

⁶ Arthur J. Todd, *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920).

⁷ M. J. Karpf, *The Scientific Basis of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931); "The Relation of Sociology to Social Work," *Social Forces*, Vol. III, No. 3, March, 1925.

⁸ Frank J. Bruno, *The Theory of Social Work* (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1936).

⁹ Robert M. MacIver, *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

is of great importance, although it does not provide a panacea for the social worker who is groping for the answers to individual case situations. It should, however, help the social worker to acquire a long-range view of social problems, to picture social work in its proper perspective, and to guard against the formulation of immature judgments.

Another major contribution of sociology to social work is that a knowledge of sociology can assist the social worker in formulating a social philosophy. In our complex, urbanized, and industrialized society there are numerous maladjustments which the most skilled social worker cannot alleviate. The social worker can, for example, grant relief to the unemployed worker and his family and assist in making their burden more bearable, but he cannot eradicate the problem of unemployment. The social worker deals not only with economic dependency but with problems that have been accentuated by economic dependency. Delinquency, crime, child neglect, et cetera, are all heightened because of poverty. The social worker must see beyond the problem of dependency and at the same time recognize that he, as an individual professional worker, is unable to eradicate the causes of dependency. This is a truly Herculean task—one that calls for courage, intelligence, and a clearly perceived social philosophy. The content of sociology, with its emphasis upon the dispassionate study of cause and effect in human relations, certainly provides some content for the social worker's philosophy. The study of sociology, in fact, gives philosophical direction to the social worker's experience in dealing with human needs. A social philosophy not only is a necessity for the social worker's guidance but also is essential for a rational comprehension of the goal of social work.¹¹

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

Furthermore, the study of sociology can permit the social worker to become more than a mere technician.¹² It gives disciplined content and intellectual breadth to the practice of social work. The social worker without an intellectual, disciplined, and scientific background is apt to degenerate into an efficient but colorless clerk. The routine of the work can become so all-important that the client and his relation to the social order are lost sight of. The study and comprehension of the science of society are a good antidote for such a situation. Social work is an art—the application of scientific principles to the problems of individuals in distress—and the social worker must be guided by all the scientific knowledge at his command. Sociology is not the only science that contributes to social work, but it is obviously one of the most important. A knowledge of sociology is therefore of primary importance to the social worker who wants to possess the intellectual background that will prevent him from becoming a mere technician.

The professional maturity of social work is evidenced by the fact that as an art it is beginning to make important contributions to sociology. This reciprocal relationship has generally been ignored by students of social work and sociology. The contributions that have been made by sociology to social work have been recognized—by some sociologists at least,¹³ but the contributions of social work to sociology have generally been unrecognized. This is undoubtedly because the sociologists take their subject rather for granted and assume that its development comes exclusively from within its professional boundaries. In addition, sociology has been a recognized academic discipline for a longer period of time than social work, and many

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹³ See, for example, Harold A. Phelps, "Sociology and Social Work," in George A. Lundberg and others, *Trends in American Sociology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929), pp. 314-43.

sociologists accept the teaching of social work only as a division of a department of sociology.¹⁴ If social work is accepted only as a part of sociology, its contributions to sociology are of necessity not recognized. Furthermore, social workers have not always been eager to recognize the relationship of sociology to social work and, therefore, have not been able to understand the contributions social work has made to sociology. Nevertheless, social work has made many important contributions to sociology.

Social workers have been largely responsible for a more enlightened understanding of the problems of social maladjustment and social disorganization.¹⁵ Sociology was formerly much concerned with social pathology, i.e., the ills of society. These diseases were isolated as poverty, prostitution, delinquency, crime, et cetera, dissected and presented to students. This resulted, of course, in a naïve comprehension of human and social inadequacy. By isolating categories of inadequacy the various causative factors in individual situations were almost entirely neglected. The very term "social pathology" connoted a certain social ostracism—these categories, one could assume, were composed of people who did not fit into the social order and hence were socially ill. Social workers who have had experience in dealing with cases of individual maladjustment recognize the absurdity of such classifications. Delinquents, inebriates, and criminals are not classes of socially ill people to social workers. Rather, they are individuals who get that way because of an interplay of environmental and hereditary circumstances, unique in the individual case. These groups, it is true, are composed of

¹⁴ This is based upon the erroneous assumption that social work grew out of sociology and is, therefore, nothing but "applied sociology." This is simply confusing historical coincidence with cause and effect. Professional social work and sociology both developed in the United States during the decades immediately following the Civil War, but that one is responsible for the other's birth cannot be established.

¹⁵ Philip Klein, article on "Social Case Work" in *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 14:182-83.

people who are socially inadequate—they do not conform to the socioeconomic standards of the majority—but society, to some extent at least, is responsible for their plight. Hence the concept of “social disorganization”—which has recently been introduced into sociological literature—is more accurate than the term “social pathology.” To what extent social workers are responsible for the acceptance of this view is problematical, but it does seem reasonable to give them considerable credit for it.

One of the most important research methods of sociology is the case method, refined to a considerable degree by social workers. Mary Richmond's work on *Social Diagnosis*¹⁶ is, in the words of Philip Klein, “undoubtedly the outstanding written contribution thus far made by social work to the social sciences.”¹⁷ Miss Richmond gave a detailed explanation of the case method as used in social work and emphasized the scientific aspect of the process without regard to the economic condition of the client. When the case method is divorced from the poverty of the client, its importance to sociologists becomes increasingly clear.

Sociologists, like social workers, are concerned with human relationships, with the family as the unit of study. The case method as used by social workers not only has made research material available for sociologists¹⁸ but has helped to develop a research method for sociology. The case method is the factual description of a unit, which may be a family, a state, a community, or a person.¹⁹ Although the objectives of the case study method differ for

¹⁶ Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917).

¹⁷ Philip Klein, “Mary Richmond's Formulation of a New Science,” in Stuart Rice (ed.), *Methods in Social Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 95.

¹⁸ Stuart A. Queen, “Some Possible Sociological Uses of the Case-Work Method,” *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 11:323.

¹⁹ Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939), Chapter X.

sociology and social work, it is apparent that its basic techniques have been developed and refined by social workers. In sociological research the method is employed to formulate general principles based upon classification and analysis of the facts gathered. In social work the data are gathered in order to facilitate diagnosis and treatment of individual case situations. The sociologist, like the social worker, desires accurate, detailed, and relevant data. Certainly the case method as developed by social workers—especially the techniques of interviewing—is of great importance in securing such material in a comparatively objective and scientific manner.

Social workers have also been of assistance in refining and redefining the statistical research method in sociology. Many sociologists believe that they have found in the statistical method the means by which sociology can be transformed from an impressionistic, classificatory study to an exact, quantitative science. The need for precision and exactness is apparent, but statistics can serve as the agent for classification only if there are quantitative units which may be manipulated mathematically. The statistical method, in other words, presupposes a common numerical as well as a common linguistic denominator. Because of the lack of precise, economic terminology and exact countable units the statistical method has only limited application in sociology. There have, of course, been evidences of statistical shallowness in the desperate effort of some sociologists to become "super scientific." The need for exactness and precision, which can come perhaps only from the application of the statistical method to sociological data, is nevertheless essential.

Social workers, experienced in dealing with individuals, have been enabled to secure valuable, firsthand information about many social problems. In other words, they have been able to assist in the classification and under-

standing of these problems. Social workers have learned that some social problems—such as the causative factors in dependency—are far too complex to be classified numerically.²⁰ On the other hand, they have found that other problems—such as inadequate housing—can be analyzed statistically. Social workers can be of invaluable assistance in interpreting the quantitative factors of social problems to social statisticians.

Social work has also been of incalculable assistance in making sociology a more realistic and practical study. That is, social work has served as a proving ground for sociological theory. After all, sociology cannot exist in a vacuum: it is dependent upon social action for its life. Social administration, particularly as it has developed since the onset of the Great Depression, has afforded the sociologist a laboratory for extensive study of social disorganization. It has also granted him an opportunity to attempt to assess the causative factors of various social problems and to suggest curative measures. This opportunity has been largely neglected, but our modern social services have certainly given sociology an opportunity to become more realistic.

Sociology has been of great importance in determining the content and goals of social service. This importance has been due, not to the ability of sociologists to answer specific case problems for the social worker, but rather to the value of sociology as one of the chief determinants of his social philosophy and its importance in providing the social practitioner with a broad and systematic orientation regarding social problems.

²⁰ Ralph G. Hurlin, "Statistical Studies of Dependency," in Stuart A. Rice (ed.), *Statistics in Social Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1930), pp. 55-56.

RACIAL IDEOLOGIES AND THE WAR

LEWIS C. COPELAND
Fisk University

● The relation of racial ideologies to the war effort can be understood most concisely by dealing with a concrete case and pointing out some of its influence on national morale. We shall discuss, then, the implications of the racial ideology in reference to the Negro in the United States. This is a fundamental aspect of American culture and a traditional force that can but demoralize the war effort of our largest minority group. Moreover, it is an irrational factor that cannot be "talked away" or legislated out of existence, for it is so deeply seated in our social consciousness that it profoundly influences our conduct and conversation even when we consciously strive to disregard it.

These implications grow out of the nature of ideologies and the relation of ideologies to morale. An ideology is a systematic scheme of ideas accompanied by a particular mode of interpretation or perspective characteristic of social groups and functionally related to their social organization. The concept is used here in a neutral, non-evaluative sense to refer to constellations of beliefs that are consciously advocated, dogmatically asserted, or unconsciously assumed. It is often the unconscious mental patterns that are most potent in society. They are seldom brought into logical scrutiny, and, since they constitute the very categories of thinking, they are considered natural and invulnerable. The systematic character of ideologies does not derive from formal logic, though there is often a great deal of philosophizing after the fact. In general, however, the integral wholeness of ideologies is due to the fact that they are cultural patterns of mentality that evolve from a common perspective or orientation of group life. Their logical coherence is not that of the

schools but that of cultural complexes, of the logic implicit in the mores.

Ideology is to be conceived functionally and not defined by content. Hence, the more significant factor in ideological thinking is not the dogmatic content, but the motives or reasons for its pronouncement and acceptance. These motives may be unconscious, and to refer to them as "reasons" does not imply that they are rational. This will be understood when it is pointed out that the ideology functions as a rationalization of the definition of the social situation. Therefore, the concept can convey no evaluation of the validity or usefulness of the ideas or beliefs, for scientific findings can be used ideologically. Furthermore, in ideologies language is used to communicate or to evoke emotions and not necessarily referentially. The ideology is not constituted by the so-called "conventional lies" of society, though these may be part of or arise from the ideology. The latter explains the lies—what is told as well as what is not told but obscured. The ideology may be thought of as the philosophy of life implicit in the mores, and, as Sumner said, the mores carry their own justification. By communication, propagation, and indoctrination the ideology becomes orthodox, the authorized version of the group's beliefs and mythology.

By the American racial ideology we refer to the system of beliefs and attitudes that rationalize and legitimize the patterns of racial segregation in the United States and especially in the South. The dogmas of race are not separate entities but are integrated into a whole and constitute a social philosophy corresponding to the system of race relations. This ideology was appropriate to the slave regime, but it has been transmitted to the present and now legitimizes the prevailing social order. This is the orthodoxy that constitutes a charter for the behavior of white people in interracial situations. It is a portion of the myth of southern culture.

Here we find the creed that defines and details the assumptions whites make about Negroes; nothing is more characteristic of a culture than what it takes for granted. In so far as it functions in the present to create the social attitudes and relations desired by white people, it is ideological in nature. To the extent that it conceals and distorts Negro life and character and bends the prevailing social conception of these toward unreality, it constitutes what Marx and Engels termed a "false social consciousness." One of the major problems in the study of ideologies is the manner in which a mental structure thus conceals the actual situation rather than reveals it, thus preventing the accommodation of groups to each other and to the changing situation in which they live.

When it is recalled that morale is marked subjectively by unity of conviction and objectively by coordinated effort to defend those convictions and to achieve the social goals defined by them, we can understand the influence of the race ideology on the present war effort. A primary prerequisite of morale is the possession of a solid set of convictions and values that give meaning to a common way of life. By way of contrast to this, the existing American ideology functions to set whites and Negroes apart in American society. The estrangement of the two peoples is so complete that the moral order is dichotomized. The beliefs foster resentment that serves to preserve racial isolation and conflict, and the mental structure stands as an obstacle to communication.

Thus there do not exist the normal understanding and expectation necessary for united effort in a national cause. The concepts of the ideology provide the universe of discourse within which white people conceive and discuss "the Negro problem." Furthermore, the ideological perspective creates the frame of reference within which problems are viewed and sets the criteria for determining the relevance of facts. Since Negroes have an entirely differ-

ent conception of themselves and a different perspective on "the race problem," which is incorporated in a counter-ideology, the two groups frequently "talk past" each other. The bifurcation of values and meanings is so striking that sometimes discussions are carried on within two separate universes of discourse. Moreover, the thinking of whites, couched in the categories of the past, is not always congruous with the present evolving situation. These considerations explain why consensus does not always exist between Negroes and whites, for consensus is the product of participation in a common life, and no amount of hot-house indoctrination suffices to create it. Consensus is confined to the range of effective communication, and white and colored are notoriously strangers to each other. Between the two there is little of the mutual understanding that would facilitate approach. Common sentiments cannot always be presumed. In such a social atmosphere one is not surprised to find that "Negro news is not news to whites." Again, such a climate of opinion naturally creates a feeling of distrust. It would be presumptuous indeed for Negroes to initiate anything for the community at large.

Further implications are clear when it is recalled that morale is after all a state of mind shared by members of a group and built on total participation. It is manifest by preparedness and willingness to join others in the defense of common values. Morale exists when the group is mobilized for a common enterprise; and in the regimentation of members for this enterprise the consecration and effort are freely given. Furthermore, in a democracy morale arises only out of participation in defining goals and in action designed to achieve them. But one cannot presume that there exists a will for a common enterprise involving Negroes and whites; neither can one expect to find vigorous support for enterprises, or determination to "carry on," or social solidarity that would persist in the face of adversity.

The race ideology functions to exclude Negroes from what in a profound sense is a white man's world. It is in conflict with, but more potent in many respects than, the national democratic ideology. The latter would be expected to channelize the social consciousness of the whole nation, to symbolize common goals, to define action, and to produce coordination in the conduct of that program, for such is the role of ideologies. Actually, however, one finds a cleavage in social sympathy. Since the Negro does not participate fully in the body of public opinion and in the diffuse sentiments that lie at the roots of our society, he is shorn of many elements of social personality. He is not a citizen in the fullest sense of the word but considered and treated as "an alien in a white man's country." Patriotism is a ritual attitude in which the nation as a whole symbolizes the communal values, and inclusion in the national values implies adoption into the moral order. But the Negro has never been completely adopted. In fact, the proposal to deport the race is still made in all seriousness. This has led thoughtful Negroes, such as Kelly Miller, to complain that the hardest thing to bear is that American people do not want them to be patriotic and feel that America is their country. It is significant that Negroes have little or no part in public celebrations except perhaps as passive onlookers. In earlier days Negroes were driven from Independence Square on the Fourth of July, for it was held that they "had no part in independence"; and judging by present treatment, they still have a restricted part in defending the freedoms.

No more significant indication of the moral cleavage could be cited than the exclusion from community celebrations and enterprises. The celebrations have for their function the creation of social sentiments and the perpetuation of the essential social values. If the Negro does not participate in the situations out of which the social senti-

ments arise, it is to be expected that he should not be endowed with them but remain outside the social circle. It is not surprising then to find that, in spite of the fact that in proportion to his numbers the Negro has more Christian churches than any other part of the population, there has been a tendency to deny the black man a part in the white man's religious life and tradition. Thus the question as to whether the Negro has a soul and can be a Christian is still raised. Recently a prominent minister in Nashville preached on "Can the Negro be a Christian?" and gave the traditional answer. A rabbi replied in the affirmative.

The traditional white-caste ideology pictures America as "a family matter, for whites only," in which Negroes have little place. Nativity, with all the privileges pertaining thereto, is conceived as an endowment of white people. The stereotype of Negro people is that of an outsider, who might better be deported, except those needed as "mudsills" of the economy. In such a climate of opinion and sentiment in which social groups are distinguished by antagonistic perspectives and set over against each other as warring factions, one can hardly expect Negroes to have any clear conception of national unity or to recognize themselves as members of an integrated whole engaged in a national cause. Actually, this social philosophy produces disphoria among both Negroes and whites, for such an obvious disparity in our national ideology is conducive toward a general cynicism which contributes to undermining the national purpose.

This is not to say that Negroes are not interested in democratic ideals; they are doubly interested, for they want democracy at home as well as abroad. Realizing how much there is at stake, they are on the whole loyal and are willing to fight for America, but it is discouraging that their participation is not accepted in the spirit proffered.

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF PATRIOTISM IN WORLD WAR II

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● The reactions and adjustments of social institutions to the impact of war upon them are many and varied. This is an attempt to examine but one of these, namely, the initial effects of World War II upon the use of patriotic appeal in advertising.

The problem defined. Commercial interests have long been adept in the art of persuasion. Motivated by a natural desire for profit in the sale of their goods, they have resorted to just about every appeal known to man in this enlightened age. Love, vanity, fear, duty, hope, and many other feelings too numerous to mention are all exploited in the art of advertising. Commercial interests have capitalized upon the desires and sentiments of man for the sake of profit.

Since patriotism becomes one of the strongest of human sentiments in wartime, we have advanced the hypothesis that, during the present world conflict, advertisers are more and more adapting their art to play upon the patriotic feelings of potential customers.

To test this assumption we chose to examine the time from January 5, 1941, to February 28, 1942, a period of more than a year reaching in both directions from the advent of Pearl Harbor. For source materials we chose a leading weekly magazine in the United States to represent magazine advertising and a leading metropolitan daily newspaper to represent newspaper advertising.¹ Our prob-

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¹ It is recognized that the weekly periodical and the daily newspaper that were selected may not be completely representative of American magazine and newspaper publications. A prestudy of them, however, revealed no obvious religious or political leanings, and both receive the patronage of national advertisers. It was

lem, then, was limited to an analysis of commercialized patriotism in advertising as reflected by these two publications over a 60-week period.

Descriptive examples. Any advertisement which either directly or indirectly played upon one's love for America was considered to have patriotic appeal. Sometimes this appeal was found in the form of pictures or drawings using the American colors in an obvious manner, and portraying a patriotic symbol such as the eagle, or picturing a war scene, or in any other way showing the strength, beauty, or desirability of the American way of life. Sometimes it was found in the wording of the advertising copy—in the form of a patriotic slogan, a description of the contributions of the agency involved to the defense and preservation of America, or information to the reader as to what he might do for America. And sometimes it was found in the mere contribution of advertising space to the Red Cross or any other agency aiding in defending and preserving America. Usually, however, some combination of these techniques was used, so that an appeal to patriotism in one form or another became perfectly obvious.

Examples of the types of pictures and drawings used are the following: (1) trucks, automobiles, and tractors in the service of the country; (2) war equipment such as guns, tanks, airplanes, and warships; (3) men in uniform;

therefore felt that they would be at least sufficiently representative to reflect the general character of American advertising.

All 60 issues of the weekly magazine representing each week of the sample period were used, but the daily newspaper sample was limited to issues in the following 4-week periods: January 5 to February 1, 1941; April 27 to May 24, 1941; September 14 to October 11, 1941; and February 1 to February 28, 1942. Classified advertisements, theater advertisements, and others smaller than four-column inches in size were not considered.

In addition to these two publications, used as source materials, radio broadcasts from Provo and Salt Lake City were studied for the eight consecutive weeks between January 12 and March 6, 1942. A total of 193 listening hours were systematically spread over the 8-week period and distributed among three radio stations. The radio data obtained in this way reveal essentially the same generalizations as do the data obtained from the publications, but they are omitted from this paper because the period covered is too short for any significant time analysis.

(4) scenes of actual warfare; (5) busy factories and farms; (6) workers in industries who are "doing their part"; (7) home defense or home defense workers; and (8) scenes portraying the desirability of America or the American way of life, presented obviously for the purpose of appealing to the reader's patriotic interest in the war effort.

Typical of the patriotic symbols used are the following: (1) Uncle Sam, or Uncle Sam's hat; (2) the eagle, the eagle and shield, or the eagle and stars; (3) minute man and gun; (4) "V," or . . . —; (5) a red, white, and blue color scheme; (6) the flag; and (7) the dome of the capitol building.

The following are representative of patriotic slogans used in advertising: (1) "For Defense, Buy U.S. Savings Bonds and Stamps"; (2) "Give to the Red Cross War Relief Fund"; (3) "Care for Your Car for Your Country"; (4) "V for Victory"; (5) "Keep 'em Flying"; (6) "Keep 'em Rolling"; (7) "V for Vision for Victory"; (8) "V for Value for Victory, Shop for Value and Save for Victory at ————"; (9) Remember Pearl Harbor"; (10) "Our First Line of Defense."

Although advertising copy was most frequently used as the medium for patriotic appeal, and examples are almost limitless, the following can be considered as a fair sample for purposes of illustration:

1. "In times like these serve hearty breakfasts. Uncle Sam's workers must be well fed. Do your part for national defense right in your own kitchen. Serve hearty, energy-building breakfasts of ———— pancakes and help to keep your family strong, healthy, ready for any job."
2. "Be patriotic. Don't be cheated. Insist on ———— bread."
3. "Vitamins for Victory."
4. "Thrift is no longer a private virtue. It is a patriotic duty. ———— stores are centrally located—lower prices."
5. "Victory colors—let your hat be brave, bright, a banner of your courage."

6. "Your first duty is your beauty—America's inspiration—morale on the home front is the woman's job."
7. "They are *doing* their part. Now *you* do yours. Show them you do appreciate their efforts by remembering them often. Send them a box or two of _____'s chocolates."
8. "_____ invites the millions of patriotic, forward looking _____ owners to join with the nation in a 'car conservation plan.'"
9. "Reporting for duty, sir—ready to do our part in the national defense program. Electrically America *is* prepared."
10. "If you are sewing or knitting for the Red Cross, be sure to have your eyes examined at _____."
11. "I'm sending him a carton of _____ regularly. They are first with men in the army."
12. "The victory trains are rolling; travel by supercoach to help national defense."
13. "Uncle Sam says, 'plant a garden for defense.'"
14. "And now that you're knitting sweaters for the boys you'll find _____ simply swell for keeping hands smooth."
15. "These days when we all have a job to do, chewing gum can play a large part in your life."
16. "Health aids victory. To preserve the vital minerals and vitamins in your food use the new _____ range."

It becomes evident from all of this that commercial interests have geared their advertising to the war emergency, capitalizing upon the patriotic feelings of potential customers in one way or another. A question now arises as to the extent and general trend of this wartime phenomenon.

Time analysis. In order to see the total picture a little more completely and objectively, advertisements were studied in quantity over the time period of the sample and analyzed as to percentage of commercialized patriotism. Percentages were calculated for both the total number of advertisements and the total space devoted to advertising, and the results are presented in the table below. It will be observed that, although the percentage of advertisements using the patriotic appeal was not very great in early 1941, it was considerable in early 1942 after Pearl Harbor.

There are some variations within the table, as those between number and space and between the magazine and the newspaper, for example, but these are largely irrelevant to the point of our discussion. The important thing is that in all cases commercialized patriotism in advertising increased over the period studied.² The data collected do not extend beyond February, 1942, but it seems entirely possible, and even probable, to the authors that the general trend indicated here continued throughout 1942 and that the future will see an even greater appeal to patriotism in advertising.

Interpretation. The hypothesis has been substantiated. There can be no doubt that one of the adjustments to World War II made by our economic institution is this

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMERCIALIZED PATRIOTISM IN ADVERTISING¹

Time Periods ²	Weekly Magazine		Daily Newspaper	
	Number ³	Space ⁴	Number ⁵	Space ⁶
First	8.6	8.7	1.8	3.2
Second	15.8	17.5	1.3	1.2
Third	30.8	36.1	11.4	15.1
Fourth	35.2	41.3	19.6	19.6
Total	20.8	23.6	7.8	9.7

1. Figures in this table give the percentages of total advertisements, or advertising spaces as the case may be, that have a patriotic appeal.
2. For the weekly magazine, the time periods of this table are January 5 to April 26, 1941; April 27 to August 16, 1941; August 17 to December 6, 1941; and December 7, 1941, to February 28, 1942. For the daily newspaper, the periods are January 5 to February 1, 1941; April 27 to May 24, 1941; September 14 to October 11, 1941; and February 1 to February 28, 1942.
3. Based upon a sample of 3,058 advertisements.
4. Based upon a sample of 2,458 pages of advertising.
5. Based upon a sample of 2,823 advertisements.
6. Based upon a sample of 140,751 column inches of advertising.

² Variations in the trend were found among the several types of products advertised, but they all pointed in the same general direction, toward an increase in commercialized patriotism. Variations within the trend, as among product types, may be treated in a later study.

growing tendency to appeal to patriotism for the sale of goods. But this is as far as we can generalize at the moment.

Advertising is for profit, either immediate or remote, and when appeals to love of country are contained in commercial advertisements we must infer that profit is the real desire and that patriotism is used as a means to that end. This is not to say, however, that profit is the sole motive; we are not sitting in judgment on commercial interests, nor would we deny them a reasonable profit. Our attempt is to understand rather than condemn, and in this understanding to help Americans everywhere separate the real from the spurious in patriotic endeavor. For the protection of citizenry and country alike, this union of patriotism with profit needs to be understood and observed by every American.

PROBLEMS OF GROUP HEALTH ASSOCIATIONS*

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● Group health associations in this country have been the pivot of much controversy during the last decade. Despite opposition, however, many health groups have been launched successfully and are now famous throughout the nation. The innovations in medical practice which these organizations have initiated have made it possible for many thousands of Americans to realize the benefits of adequate medical care hitherto unknown to them. The health groups operating in the United States today merit consideration because they represent a triumph of democratic principles applied and found practical. Democratic ideals have been utilized to help group health associations solve very serious difficulties, some of which seemed insurmountable. But, because health groups are still largely in a formative stage, many problems remain to be solved. It is the purpose of this article not to criticize, but to indicate areas of difficulties that are common to many health groups.¹

1. *Recruiting members.* Group health associations have been troubled with the problem of increasing their memberships. The American people have not been sold completely on the concept of group medicine. In fact, many Americans have never heard of the group health association movement. Even those who might be potential members sometimes fear health groups because they are seemingly contrary to our individualistic ethos, which is a somewhat integral part of the American culture pattern.

*The publication is sponsored by Alpha Kappa Delta, honorary sociological society, The University of Southern California.

¹ For a description of the positive aspects of Group Health Associations see an article by the writer titled, "Social Values of Group Health Associations," in *Sociology and Social Research*, 27:117-26, November-December, 1942.

A majority of group health administrators and leaders believe that a health group ought to have a minimum membership of between 3,000 and 5,000 in order to operate satisfactorily and efficiently. It has been noted frequently that members in smaller group health associations state that if they had more members most of their problems would be solved. In other words, there seems to be a law of increasing returns at work. A membership of 3,000 contrasted with 500 would make available the following facilities and services: (1) a greater range and variety of health services, (2) an increased range of choice by individual members of medical doctors. This latter fact has been repeatedly made clear by the expressions of members. It is very doubtful whether two or three physicians in a small medical group can satisfy the personal likes and eccentricities of enough members to instill confidence in their ability. Group health members, like most consumers, want to shop around a bit for their doctors, and a feeling of social *rapprochement* between patient and doctor is desirable before treatment can be considered effective. (3) A larger membership makes possible a reduction in the per capita cost of health services given, and (4) more medical equipment could be centrally located which would automatically facilitate the utilization of medical tools.

In their initial stages of organization and functioning, group health associations find themselves in a particularly unfortunate situation. One member of a Midwestern health group depicts rather well the plight which is typical of a number of small health groups when he remarks:

Our problem is literally a vicious circle. If we only had more members we could give better service for less, which would in turn attract more members to our health plan. During the first period of growth we have to appeal to the farsightedness and cooperative spirit of people in order to convince them of the values of cooperative health. As our health group becomes larger it will be possible to point out the pecuniary savings in-

volved in our plan, besides the underlying spirit of cooperation. In short, if we had a larger membership most of our present problems would be solved.²

The addition of new members and the maintenance of old members are certainly central problems of a majority of group health associations.

2. *Locating health group services.* Where should the group health association be located? Members often state that the distance they have to travel to obtain medical services constitutes a serious problem. With the advent of national tire and gasoline rationing this particular problem has become more conspicuous and significant.

Efforts have been made by a few group health associations to have district offices located in satellite communities which surround larger cities. However, some of the members insist that they do not have an adequate range of choice of physicians in these district offices. Two other problems emerge which have been suggested, namely, the small group health association cannot support regional offices because of a small membership, and, on the other hand, the large group health association which endeavors to provide regional clinics is criticized because it does not have enough physicians in each such office. In the district or regional offices there are often not enough members to warrant the additional expense of employing more physicians. It has been suggested that perhaps doctors might be shifted around until the administration is able to find physicians who are acceptable to a majority of local member-residents. However, such a suggestion is probably not practical.

3. *Opposing health groups.* It is common knowledge that the Group Health Association of Washington, D.C., was instrumental in taking a number of leaders of the American Medical Association to trial on the ground that

² From an interview with O. J. H.

the medical body was guilty of violating the Sherman Antitrust Act. The twenty-one defendants were found not guilty, but the American Medical Association was found guilty of the charge. Legally speaking, the American Medical Association's blitzkrieg of direct antagonism to health groups has been frustrated by this epochal trial; yet the social-psychological effect of the campaign which they have waged for so many years still persists as a problem. Reactionaries on the medical front have effectively indoctrinated physicians practicing in this country with the idea that health groups ultimately lead to state medicine or even socialism, labels not acceptable to the American public. Physicians, in turn, have imbued their patients with the same distaste for group medical practices. Hence, many people when interviewed as to why they do not affiliate with a health group frequently respond in much the same vein as the following person did:

Our private doctors are opposed to such new ideas and if they don't like group medicine why should we! If group medicine were a good thing the doctors would be the first to become associated with it.³

It is a serious barrier to the group health movement to have physicians in private practice making false judgments of the values and purposes of such groups. Occupationally the medical doctor occupies a very high status, and the lay person is likely to subscribe completely to his opinions. There is undoubtedly a transfer of prestige from the good will that physicians enjoy to what they say about health groups. It is perhaps more important to realize that a good many of the accusations made against the principle and practice of group medicine not only are often incorrect value judgments but are erroneous judgments of fact.

The following criticisms are leveled against group health associations most often by physicians in private

³ From an interview with J. K. N.

practice who have been interviewed by the writer: group medicine is just another name for state medicine, foreign doctors are the only ones initiating such health plans, the confidential relationship between patient and doctor is destroyed, patients do not have free choice of physicians, patients are treated as cases rather than living personalities. It thus becomes apparent that group health associations need to expand their educational programs when opinions and criticisms as subjective as the above are given, and are believed by many patients who feel that the doctor is well informed on all matters pertaining to health care and medical economics. The educational program of group health associations will have to be twofold: first, elucidation of the purposes and functions of group medicine to lay persons and, second, spreading of correct information about the true nature of group health associations to medical doctors in private practice so that a reversal of attitude may be made possible. While many physicians in private practice are not willing to become "boosters" for this movement, they may develop a more neutral and objective attitude, which in turn may supplant the one of antagonism so conspicuous today.

4. *Limiting services.* Group health associations have found it difficult to include the following services as part of the regular periodic payments for health: dental care, treatment of venereal diseases, of tuberculosis, of psychiatric and psychological conditions, and of alcoholism. The inability to incorporate dental services is considered by many as the bottleneck in the group health association movement. When members are forced to go to a private dentist's office and pay for such services as are needed on a fee-for-service basis, it tends to split the learning process of developing health group habits.

The extra fees which are involved for certain types of treatment also antagonize health group members, espe-

cially when it is not clear to the member about the way such a policy works. Whenever an "extra fee" is demanded, the member is inclined to think that there is a "catch to the plan and here it is, an extra fee." If the periodic fees were slightly higher, more services could be offered and less criticism generated.

5. *Drafting physicians.* It is becoming common knowledge that the war effort is taking a very large share of medical doctors from group health associations. In fact, group health associations are losing a greater proportion of physicians to the armed forces than are being recruited from private fee-for-service practices. Two factors partially account for the disproportionate induction of health group doctors into these services. (1) Cooperative and proprietary group health associations have endeavored in the past to select young high-rating physicians who were recent graduates of first-class medical schools in the United States. It is precisely this type of physician that the Army and Navy demand and urgently need. (2) Since health group physicians are generally granted a leave of absence and are accustomed to the methods of group medicine, they are not so reticent to volunteer for military service as medical officers as are private-practice physicians. It is certainly a great economic sacrifice and loss for the private physician to give up his practice for the duration of the war.

The seriousness of this problem may be recognized if we note the turnover of medical personnel in a number of the outstanding group health associations in this country. White Cross Health Group of Boston has been forced recently to terminate health services because so many of its physicians have been drawn into the armed forces. Doctor Hugh Cabot, a national leader in the group health movement, was its able medical director and was piloting the plan successfully until the advent of the war. Group

Health Association of St. Louis has lost four of its seven physicians and has made replacements with older doctors. The well-known and pioneer cooperative health group of Elk City, Oklahoma, Farmers' Union Community Hospital, under the guidance of its founder, Dr. Michael Shadid, has had to adjust to offering medical care with two less physicians. The famous Ross-Loos Medical Group, a proprietary plan, of Los Angeles, has lost forty-two physicians to the war effort or about 45 per cent of its medical personnel. However, Doctor Loos has been unusually fortunate in securing replacements in every case with young physicians who are physically disabled or with men who are beyond the military age. Trinity Hospital of Little Rock, Arkansas, has sacrificed five of its twelve physicians to the war emergency. The lay membership has been reduced so that a smaller staff could function satisfactorily. The following means have been used by various health groups to meet the problem of military procurement of physicians: (1) terminate the services of the health group, (2) replace medical personnel with physically disabled, (3) replace with overage doctors, (4) replace with women physicians, (5) replace with refugee medical doctors, and (6) reduce the size of the group health association.⁴

6. *Defining control.* The proper division of control between consumer-laymen and producer-physicians looms up as one of the most significant problems confronting group health associations.

Cooperative group health associations have attempted to define the areas of control between subscribers and professional members. It has not always been possible to

⁴ Some leaders of health groups are speculating that more young physicians will be affiliated with group health associations after the war. They reason that physicians who have been inducted from medical colleges and private physicians whose practices have been interrupted or destroyed during the war may not want to build or rebuild a private practice when the armistice is signed. It is believed that many medical-veterans will, therefore, associate themselves with group health associations.

draw a fine line of distinction between lay control of socioeconomic structure and physician control of sociomedical functions of cooperative group health associations. In a few instances physicians have resigned because they were not accorded more control over the general administration of the health group.

Proprietary group health associations have been controlled completely by professional members, the physicians. Because lay members are not owners of this type of health group, they are extended very little, if any, control over administration. Lay control in a proprietary group health association extends only to the point of offering suggestions for "improvement." Thus lay members are often not integral agents in deciding vital administrative policy, even regarding the cost of periodic fees. About the only real control lay members can exert is noncooperation with the health plan. Noncooperation may take the form of the lay person's terminating his membership in the proprietary group health association. Yet, this is not a very satisfactory adjustment for the health consumer, for he must rely only on fee-for-service physicians from then on. However, a form of internal control, in order to maintain good public relations, serves to regulate the proprietary health group.

Lay members have been excluded from participation in the determination of policy in *quasi* group health associations. In fact, it has been observed that this type of health group has been instrumental in encouraging certain states (Ohio, for example) to enact legislation which makes it illegal for lay members to control the administrative policy of health groups. It is therefore true that some conservatives of medical practice would prohibit free choice of *type* of health association a lay person might select.

In the cooperative group health association the problem is in defining in a democratic manner an intelligent

division of control, labor, and responsibility between lay consumers and professional producers. A clear line of demarcation between business administration and medical practice may be possible in theory but very difficult to apply in practice as many cooperative health groups have realized. On the other hand, proprietary and quasi health groups, especially the latter type, are typified by the concentration and centralization of control and ownership in the professional members, the medical doctors. The polarization of business and medical control in physicians excludes the consumers from active participation in the directional growth of the health plan. It might be remarked concerning the division of control that the cooperative group health association exemplifies the problems of democracy and the other two types the difficulties, at least to some extent, of authoritarianism.

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS IN WORLD WAR II

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● Millions of United States citizens depend for information and direction not only on some 200 broadcasts in twenty-six foreign languages but also on some 1,600 foreign-language periodicals.

Foreign-language press. Between the *Hrvatski Svijet* ("Croatian World"), a four-page semiweekly published on West Eighteenth Street in New York City, a Lilliputian foreign-language paper read by a few thousand Croatian steelworkers, miners, lumberjacks, fishermen, and saloonkeepers scattered over the United States, and the *Staats-Zeitung*, a century-old German daily, housed in its own eight-story building, and shipping 50,000 copies to various states on weekdays and 80,000 on Sunday, stands the great bulk of the 1,047 non-English newspapers and periodicals published in America, printed in 38 languages.¹ The Germans top the list with 178 papers, the Italians have 129, the Poles 72, and so on down to a single sheetlet for the Welsh (figures for 1939, compiled by the Foreign Language Information Service). Unlike the small sheets, all the big papers live largely on advertising and get the reports of some regular news service (usually AP or UP). But what is even more important, many get their advertisement incomes and their news from government agencies of their home countries, as, for instance, the Italian Stefani Agency and the German Transocean News Service. Only the Jews have their own news service—the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

Like each immigrant and minority group, each language group of papers has its own peculiarities. They are

¹ "The Foreign-Language Press," *Fortune*, 22:90 ff., November, 1940.

nearly all filled with dull reports on their mutual-aid societies and with political and personal polemics reflecting the crosscurrents of each immigrant cluster. "To be a *journal of opinion* instead of a *journal of information* is an European compulsion no immigrant paper has been able to throw off" is an apt characterization by *Fortune*.

Just as in World War I so in World War II the people and government of the United States suddenly became concerned with the foreign-language press. What is it telling its readers? By fostering cultural ties with the Old World, is it undermining loyalties to the New? These questions are up again, more pointed and pressing than ever. As a specific example, let us consider the German press, read by one fourth of the seven million first- and second-generation German-Americans.

The German-language newspapers. Out of 178 German-language newspapers only about a dozen were classed as outright pro-Nazi by *Fortune* in 1940.² Among them were such periodicals as the Portland (Oregon) *Nachrichten*, Waco (Texas) *Post*, Milwaukee *Deutsche Zeitung*—and, of course, Fritz Kuhn's *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* ("German Awakener and Observer"). The *Weckruf* was fanatically isolationist, giving generous headings to any utterance from Colonel Lindbergh, senators Wheeler, Holt, Nye, and the like. American defense measures provoked only amusement. Since the sympathizers of this Nazi paper were mostly American citizens, its editors showed no worry about the antialien bill by stating: "No Bund member has any cause for alarm while the Constitution maintains its place." On July 4, 1940, a headline blared: "Administration Incites Civil War!"—because Nazis had been barred from WPA.

About 20 per cent of the German press are distinguished old-time papers (*Florida-Echo* of Miami, Schenectady

² *Loc. cit.*

Herald-Journal, and the *Ohio Gross-Daytoner-Zeitung*) which, like many Catholic German papers (*Katholisches Wochenblatt* of Omaha), had no use for Hitler. The most militant anti-Nazi paper is *Neue Volkszeitung*, a Social-Democratic weekly of New York, edited by Gerhart Seger, a German flyer in World War I and a former Reichstag member, which crystallizes the opinion of tens of thousands of educated workingmen. However, both the definitely pro-Nazi and anti-Nazi papers are a minority in the German-American press. The others, including the big German commercial press, exhibit all degrees of pro-Germanism, ranging down to a carefully calculated indifference, their editors being definitely partial to Germany. A survey of the German-language newspapers in America early in 1942 revealed that at least one fifth of them still displayed, "to put it mildly, divided allegiance."³ Although, after December 7, 1941, some of the pro-Nazi publications dropped out of sight, notably the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, the *Portland Nachrichten*, and the *Philadelphia Herald*, while others became more careful of their content. *The Hour*, however, also reported that as late as March, 1942, the *Buffalo Aurora* and *Christliche Woche* remained "venemously anti-Semitic."⁴ By the fall of 1942, only eight had gone out of business because of federal action. Otherwise, only a few German newspapers with woefully small circulations are aggressively anti-Nazi. The great majority try to sidetrack the issues of the war, a difficult feat in any language, but particularly so in German.

The Italian-American press. The Italian-American press reaches a good portion of the 4,500,000 first- and second-generation Italians in the United States. Out of

³ "Steam from the Melting Pot," *Fortune*, 24:132, September, 1942.

⁴ *The Hour*, No. 130, p. 3, March, 1942. This is a mimeographed news service, 100 E. 42nd Street, New York, edited by Albert E. Kahn, co-author with Michael Sayers of *Sabotage!* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942).

129 Italian-language newspapers about 80 were more or less Fascist.⁵ Of a large group of pro-Fascist weeklies, mostly found in the East (*Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, Boston, *L'Osservatore*, Philadelphia, *Corriere Siciliano*, New York), the most pronounced was *Il Grido della Stirpe* ("The Cry of the Race") of New York, which featured violent anti-Semitic articles, damned "the heresy of racial tolerance," and ridiculed American democracy as "sentimentalism." Like the *Weekruf*, it preached that "true Americanism" is hatred of the British and that the "real fifth columnists" are the English and Anglophile Americans "enslaved by British gold." On the other side of the fence, there have long been about a dozen anti-Fascist Italian papers, reaching some 50,000 people and exemplified by *La Voce del Popolo* of Detroit, *Il Martello* and *La Parola*, the small Socialist weeklies of New York, and a liberal democratic monthly, *Il Mondo* of New York.⁶

In 1940 the Mazzini Society estimated that 80 per cent of the 120 Italian-language publications in the United States were then Fascist, 10 per cent anti-Fascist, and the rest neutral.⁷ Subsequent studies seem to indicate, however, that, by and large, the avowed Fascist and anti-Fascist press was in a minority among the Italian-American language newspapers. But in their periodic protestations of loyalty to the United States, one thing is, however, lacking—enthusiasm for America and its democracy. While the majority of the German-American press makes an attempt to be noncommittal about nazism, the Italo-American press is preponderantly pro-Fascist, and most Italian editors argue that it is perfectly possible to be for fascism in Italy and for democracy in America.

⁵ "The Foreign-Language Press," *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁶ *Loc. cit.* The article states that "most of the material on the Italian fifth column used (often without credit) in American publications has been taken from *Il Mondo's* English section."

⁷ Mazzini Society press release of the Italian News Service, August 29, 1940.

Good examples of papers with divided policy are the two largest Italian dailies of the United States, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *Corriere d'America*, owned by a New Yorker, Generoso Pope, who publicly expressed his embarrassment when Italy joined Hitler in the war and when Mussolini took up anti-Semitism. Avowed fascism gradually disappeared from his papers.

The German and Italian newspapers make up less than one third of the foreign-language press. Almost all the others belong to minorities from countries conquered or threatened by the dictators by the time the United States entered World War II. Let us now examine the Hungarian-American press as an example of this group.

The Hungarian-American press. Before Pearl Harbor, a large and influential section of the Hungarian-American press, read by many thousands of the American-Hungarian working classes, had been openly and strongly pro-German and anti-British in its editorials and in its presentation of news.⁸ Although the American-Hungarian publications were torn apart by factional, religious, and social differences, to an unusual degree most of its writers could agree in the years after World War I (in its 46 dailies and weeklies) on the single issue of "revisionism." Just as Hungary's foreign policy in the postwar years was based on the single issue of revisionism, relentless propaganda among the American Hungarians emphasized the point that, had the promised self-determination really been put into effect by the Peace Conference, Magyar areas would certainly not have then joined to Czechoslovakia, Roumania, or Yugoslavia. "Justice for Hungary" by the revision of the Peace treaties was what the revisionist propaganda heralded; this enabled the Hungarian press in the United States to keep belching fire at the Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, and Roumanians. Ameri-

⁸ "Hungarian Papers Split on War," *New York Times*, December 7, 1941.

cans of Hungarian descent or Magyars residing in the United States simply lived "revisionism" as a result of the assiduous, relentless propaganda carried on for years by emissaries of Budapest and American agents of the Hungarian government.⁹

When, after Munich, Hungarian revisionism courted favor with Nazi Germany, the American-Hungarian editors continued the line of arguments provided from Budapest. *A Jo Pásztor* ("The Good Shepherd"), published in Cleveland since 1920 and describing itself as "the largest Hungarian weekly newspaper in America," emphasized in each issue German victories and belittled the war efforts of the British and Russians.¹⁰ "The news [about German losses in Russia] is manufactured in the Soviet capital. The British sources are only anxious to increase this news which never corresponds to the truth," the paper said in its issue of September 19, 1941. "The American radio and news are completely in the service of the British and Muscovite propaganda." "The American propaganda newspapers carefully hide from public opinion all events on which conclusions could be traced regarding barbaric cruelty surpassing all imagination that is used by the Russian beasts in this war," said the paper. The Serb Chetniks, carrying on the fight against Hitler's troops of invasion, were referred to by it as "bandits."

Concerning the war aims, *The Good Shepherd* said "that it is clearer than the sun that the war against 'Nazism' is a lie." The present war, the paper said, "is only nominally the war of democracy and Nazism." And analyzing the September 11 speech of President Roosevelt, the paper asserted that "it is evident that the war against the Nazis has neither ideal, nor ethical, nor historical ground, but is based solely on jealousy, hatred, and might."

⁹ Rustem Vambery, *The Hungarian Problem* (New York: The Nation, 1942), p. 37.

¹⁰ "Hungarian Papers Split on War," *op. cit.*

According to the paper, a "final victory" would mean a "new suppressing, oppressing and forced-upon peace which would mean a new war after one, two or three decades."

Another newspaper that was manifesting a similar attitude was *Otthon* ("The Home"), "the oldest Hungarian newspaper in the Central States," published in Chicago for thirty-three years. It expressed the view that the only certain thing about this war is the sacrifice of millions of lives—not the defeat of Hitler.

The Bridgeport Egyetertes ("Concord"), which represents a small group of Bridgeport Hungarian Nazis, followed about the same line as *The Good Shepherd*.

Two large Hungarian dailies, the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* in New York and the *Szabadsag* in Cleveland, were anti-Nazi and were leading a campaign against Hitler's American-Hungarian supporters. Many weeklies were joining them in this effort at that time.

Even the growing antagonism of the people of the United States against the Nazi policies before Pearl Harbor did not prevent the American-Hungarian press from continuing the most paradoxical and confused mentality of all America's minority groups among the American-Hungarians. Sharing in the proceeds of Hitler's aggressions, Hungarian propaganda repeated that Hungary had to yield to Germany because of its open frontiers and poorly equipped army. Knowing that the Allies will not confirm the verdicts and conquests of Hitler and Mussolini, the impression was created that the present rulers of Hungary are secretly pro-British and democratic. Thus until the Axis had declared war on the United States, the Hungarian periodicals "exculpated the Regent and his Premier by stating that the participation of the Hungarian army in the campaign against Russia had been arranged behind their backs by the chiefs of the Hungarian

and German General Staffs."¹¹ At the same time, it was declared that all Hungarians have ardent love for democracy, that they wholeheartedly subscribe to the eight points of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration, and that the Horthy regime is in full accord with the war aims of a victorious Britain.

The picture of the American-Hungarian press would be incomplete without noting a furore created among the Hungarian and American prodemocratic forces in the United States by the campaign carried on at the turn of 1941 by Tibor Eckhardt, who earned himself such names as a "Hungarian Hess," and "First of Horthy Paratroops in America."¹²

Quisling press. In the spring of 1942 the government studied the question of putting restrictions on foreign-language newspapers and periodicals. Some of them, even though the United States was in the war, were openly flirting with sedition,¹³ as, for instance, pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi sheets which turned up among the Croats, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and Bulgarians, representing the mentality of the Quislings of their native countries. A newspaper man who knows Japan very well protested in *Editor and Publisher* against the continued publication of Japanese-language newspapers in the United States, pointing out the danger of secret communications through the 30,000 characters of the Japanese language. He added that the great February 26, 1936, revolt in Tokyo was started by a signal in the classified column of the *Tokyo Asahi*.¹⁴ He declared that one Pacific coast newspaper carried a straight report of General MacArthur's arrival in Australia in its Eng-

¹¹ Vambery, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹² See: Rustem Vambery, *The Hungarian Problem*; Bal Balaton, "Tibor Eckhardt's Mission," *The Central European Observer*, 19:169-70, May 29, 1942, and "Whitewashing the 'Free' Hungarians," *ibid.*, 19: 205, June 26, 1942.

¹³ For a survey of some American seditious periodicals, see "Voices of Defeat," *Life*, 12:86-100.

¹⁴ "A Present Danger," editorial, *Editor and Publisher*, 75:20, May 16, 1942.

lish-language section, while its Japanese news hinted through the use of ideographs that the General had deserted his troops and fled to Australia.

Communism and foreign-language press. Many Americans suspect the "alien" press to be Communist because it is largely pro-Labor. But the fact is that the church has a much more powerful hold on the foreign-language press than the Communists have had. The only big pro-Communist papers in foreign languages are the Yiddish *Freiheit* and the Russian *Russky Golos* ("Russian Voice"), both New York dailies, with a combined paid circulation of 80,000. Altogether, out of more than 1,000 immigrant publications, hardly more than 30 are Communist, reaching 300,000 readers at the most (which is less than 1 per cent of all the immigrants and their children). It is to be noted also that the American Communist party has withdrawn official organs from the immigrant press and encourages instead "progressive" papers with Communist leanings. Whatever the language, all Communist immigrant papers translate "the general line" from the English-language *Daily Worker*, which with variations writes the news according to its information from Moscow.

What to do about the foreign-language press. How to solve the problem of more than 1,600 foreign-language publications in America is a problem perplexing the officials of both the Justice and the War departments. Army officials were reported in 1942 to favor suspension of publications in German, Italian, and Japanese tongues and licensing of papers printed in any other foreign language. The Department of Justice, on the other hand, favored some system of general licensing which would make it possible to weed out undesirable periodicals without forcing all papers in languages of our America's enemies to shut down.¹⁵ The Attorney General's office pointed out

¹⁵ "What To Do with Foreign Press Puzzles Officials," *Advertising Age*, 22: 25, April 20, 1942.

that such publications which are not un-American are extremely useful in bridging the gap between the government and unnaturalized residents—as proved by the Department's experiences in alien registration, enemy alien identification, and surrender of contraband. Such elimination of the foreign press might lead to unrest in certain areas; and many aliens, loyal to America but not reading or speaking English, would lose all contact with policies of their adopted land, and the government would be deprived of a useful medium for gauging sentiment in regions populated largely by aliens.

RATIONING AND SOCIAL CONTROL

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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● Since rationing has come to the United States to stay for a time, it merits examination as a social procedure. If the United States is to be called on to help rehabilitate half the world when World War II is over, rationing will not end with the conclusion of the war.

Rationing is a term of long standing in Army and Navy circles. When men go out from home and headquarters in the performance of tasks requiring months to complete, it is evident that only a stated supply of food, that is, of rations, can be taken along. Hence, from this assignment of rations figured out on a daily basis per man, the term rationing came into use.

A ration is an allowance from a given store of goods. It is a share. Originally referring to a limit placed on goods because of the difficulties of travel, it now refers also to the amount of goods of a certain kind which a person who stays at home may be allowed. In this sense the procedure of rationing is an indication of scarcity. Moreover, it represents scarcity in those things that are considered necessities. In the United States today this scarcity has not come about through lack of production but through greatly increased demands due to the exigencies of war and particularly to the demands that come from fighting a war on a dozen fronts thousands of miles from the homeland where the rationed goods are produced.

In the case of temporary emergencies such as flood or famine, rationing is invoked until the stricken region has recovered its self-sufficiency. In wartime there is a special function of rationing that may be emphasized, namely, to insure the best distribution of food both to the armed

forces on the one hand and to the public on the other hand. This function is not easily carried out because it is essential that both the armed forces and the producers of goods at home for the armed services share the essentials for maintenance of health and for working efficiently.

In the current rationing situation a special consideration exists in the fact that ocean shipping, for example, from coffee-producing and banana-producing countries, has been greatly limited by conditions of war. Another consideration is represented by the fact that an enemy country has seized, for instance, control of rubber-producing countries, such as Malaya.

Another important contention is that shortages of food in particular countries may be brought about by national barriers and national boundaries. High tariffs may also help to explain the necessity of rationing. If cargo ships return but partially loaded from ports such as Rio de Janeiro, another explanation of the need for rationing certain goods is suggested.

That rationing in the United States will continue after World War II is ended is predicted on the ground that there are so many countries and so many peoples who are becoming industrially and agriculturally helpless. It will be years before they can go ahead again without outside aid.

Rationing in the United States is stark testimony to the fact that the nations of the earth are tied together economically and that the world has developed a global economy. The deeper significance of rationing in our country cannot be understood except in terms of international needs and a world economy.

Rationing is "the superimposing of a permit system on a price system for the distribution of goods or privileges."¹ It may be well to notice the differences in the various kinds

¹C. Arnold Anderson, "Food Rationing and Morale," *American Sociological Review*, 8:23, March, 1943.

of rationing, as pointed out by Mr. Anderson.² (1) There is quantity rationing, which limits the amount. (2) There is priority rationing, which gives certain people first claim to rations or an entire claim to rations that are denied to others. (3) There is value rationing, which gives all persons some degree of choice in deciding what goods they will buy provided they do not exceed a stipulated sum. (4) There is point rationing, introduced in the United States for the first time during World War II. Point rationing also gives a variety of choices to the consumer, who must consider three factors in relation to one another—money value, point value, and food value.

It may be added that in point rationing the point value is related "to available supply, not to price or quality." Some items of low prices or poor quality may be given high points because of the far-reaching need for them, or because of their scarcity, and of the need to encourage the purchase of other goods. Substantial food rather than "fancy" food may be important for the armed forces, and high points are assigned to them in order to keep the home people from exhausting the supply.

The budgeting of points is becoming an interesting exercise for many housewives. In fact, there is evidence that already among some buyers a greater degree of attention is given to "the budgeting of points than of pennies."

A registration system, whereby a shopper must agree to make all his purchases of certain items at a particular store, has sometimes been found necessary. When citizens spend a great deal of time in shopping around for scarce articles, they defeat the aim of rationing. Hence, people are required to register at a particular store and may purchase particular goods only at this store.³ As the original limitations of food supplies to traders prove to be an inadequate control, so rationing without registration may be

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *The People's Yearbook, 1943*, Manchester, England, p. 20.

defeated as a social control. In other words, how far are people's attitudes developed to accept rationing as a needed means of social welfare?

A still more effective means of rationing is called "directional control."⁴ The basis of control is "shifted from distribution to production." In other words, a central authority estimates the essential requirements in a given field and develops a production program with selected manufacturers, processors, or producers. It is evident that by this method a large degree of power is concentrated in a few hands. It represents more government control than most citizens of a democratic country would deem wise.

Rationing keeps people with money from getting food away from people who can buy only in small quantities and day by day. If some people buy heavily, others will not be able to buy at all. Individualists are likely to be shortsighted, if not greedy, unless rationing holds in check their desire to obtain goods for themselves without regard for the needs of fellow citizens who are less able to buy.

Rationing prevents hoarding. It keeps some individuals from storing up what they have no immediate need for and from cutting off the supply for other persons who do not have the ability to put certain goods under their own lock and key, or who consider such actions unpatriotic, even though practiced by persons who may boast of their national loyalty. In fact, before rationing began last year in the United States, many people hoped that it would be instituted—in order to prevent hoarding.

Rationing hinders inflation. It hinders demand from expressing itself. It tends to hold price structure steady. It keeps supply and demand closer together than otherwise would be the case. When functioning properly, it cuts down the length of queues or eliminates them entirely.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Rationing builds morale, provided its operation is not mismanaged and provided the people understand its social necessity. It insures "orderliness and equity in the distribution of goods." It encourages people to get along without many things cheerfully because other people in the same social groups are also doing without the same items. It presents an opportunity to appeal to the patriotic spirit of people and to stimulate them to share further in the war effort. For persons who are limited by age or other factors in participating in other ways in the war, the acceptance of rationing cheerfully offers a vital way for expressing loyalty.

Rationing is not automatically a success. As a nationwide procedure it is stupendous. It calls for careful national planning and faithful local administration of details. It requires wide experience in the exercise of this sort of social control.

Rationing is distasteful to the individualist. It delays a person's usual round of duties. It has bothersome features. It is not easily accepted by people who are accustomed to have all they want of this world's goods when they want them. At first it is accompanied by a great deal of complaining. Gripping easily spreads, and a mistake by an administrator is magnified and spread.

It may be observed that "equal rations" may not necessarily be either wise or democratic. "Equal rations," according to an English writer, does not necessarily mean "equal hardship."⁵ Equal rationing may mean unfair distribution. Allotting of equal rations to a worker in heavy industries, to the average employed adult, and to a person working a few hours a day at home or not at all is unequal rationing. The problem is met by classifying consumers, but the difficulties of administration are thereby multiplied. Again, it is the cooperative and democratic spirit of persons that is more important than rationing rules.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

In many countries rationing is marked by the rise of "black markets." The black market comes into being because of the weaknesses of human nature, such as greediness and self-centeredness. It develops in response to the habits of people. It indicates the domination of habit and desire over the rest of human nature.

The black market denotes the victory of personal habit over social need and social control. The drive of habit finds loopholes in the administration of rationing, and the rationing system is broken down in spots by persons who put self above social welfare.

The promoter of the black market represents a class of persons who for financial gain are willing to sell out their patriotism. For a sum of money they act as go-betweens for slaves of desire and of forbidden goods that the latter seek.

Further, "food police" are needed to combat the black marketeers. They seek to capture the traders who run the black markets and to indict the few who seek the special privileges of the black market. As in the days of the prohibition agent, the food police must play a running game if not a gunning game with the black marketeer. The latter frequently manages to keep two steps ahead of the officers of the law. He is adept in creating new devices for winning the game. The financial rewards are large, and hence big risks are taken.

Rationing also leads to the "gray market," which develops in rural districts. A farmer may furnish his urban friends with a part of his surplus produce at special rates but in violation of the rationing system. Farmers may exchange produce among themselves contrary to the rationing rules. In only a few cases may the offense be serious, but in the total implications the general spirit of rationing is broken.

Rationing is a concrete form of social control which tests the loyalty of many citizens. Said one citizen after

returning from "declaring" her stock of canned goods prior to the rationing of this class of food, "Rationing is going to make liars and hypocrites of us all." Intended to be somewhat facetious, the ribald laughter by bystanders that accompanied the remark was a mockery of democracy. Since rationing is a needed form of social control, nationally and internationally, its observance is a test of personal patriotism and of the social welfare concern of each person.

Rationing calls for very careful administration and for widespread and intensive education of all the public, or else its social value will be undermined. Any new form of social control that runs counter to the food habits of millions may be put into effect only in the light of the principles of social psychology. It is important that the habits of cooperation be developed by both the administration of rationing and the consumer. The more the administration of rationing precedes each new rationing rule with widespread and repeated publicity regarding the general principles involved, and the more fully the need for each step is explained over and over, the more satisfactory in the long run will be the rationing results. With a general educational program in full and regular operation, the addition of new items to the rationing list of goods need not be announced far in advance.⁶ Without this kind of educational procedure, the spirit of conflict between administrator and consumers will rise on the part of the latter, and both rationing and morale will suffer disastrously.

Rationing is a form of social experience which may lead to more permanent forms of cooperation. It may develop attitudes of mind which may result in cooperation in other fields of social life. Cooperation as a social process may be fostered by rationing.

⁶ Thus, sudden hoarding may be prevented.

It makes a great difference whether government treats rationing as a positive or a negative form of social control.⁷ The latter clamps rules upon people in the form of prohibitions. To the extent that negative control is used, resentment and black markets arise.

Positive control puts rationing into a large affirmative picture. It is given an educational setting, but in wartime it is not always possible to wait for the educational process to function. However, a democratic government can and does stimulate people to want to observe the requirements of rationing by showing how rationing properly administered is for the good of all.

⁷ A discussion of positive and negative controls is given in the writer's *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942), pp. 492 ff.

PACIFIC COAST NOTES

University of Washington

Dr. Jesse F. Steiner has been appointed as a public member of the Pacific Northwest Regional W.L.B. Leaves of absence have been granted to Dr. Joseph Cohen and Dr. Elton Guthrie. Dr. Cohen is on the staff of the regional office of the U.S.H.A. and Dr. Guthrie is with the regional office of O.W.I. Mrs. Laile Eubank Bartlett, Associate in Sociology, has been chosen director of the Seattle Students-in-Industry Project, sponsored by the National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A. Seattle represents one of the twelve centers chosen for these projects, the purpose of which is to combine an academic program with full-time work in a local industry or in agriculture during the summer months. Mr. Robert W. O'Brien, Instructor in Sociology and Assistant to the Dean, has returned to the University after six months' leave with the W.R.A.

The University of Southern California

Dr. Melvin J. Vincent announces a summer meeting of the Southern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society, to be held on July 17. Alpha Kappa Delta chapters of Pomona College and The University of Southern California are being invited to attend. The program is in process of formulation with professors William Kirk, E. S. Bogardus, and George M. Day being scheduled to give reports.

Pacific Sociological Society

The Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society held an abbreviated session in Salem, Oregon, April 16. Dr. John C. Evans, Superintendent, Oregon State Mental Hospital, was the host for the luncheon. The central theme for the luncheon meeting was "American Correctional Institutions in Wartime." Mr. Richard A. McGee, Supervisor of Institutions in Mr. Lockwood's department and President of the American Prison Association, spoke on "Washington State Correctional Institutions in Wartime." Dr. Coral W. Topping, sociologist, University of British Columbia, and author of *Canadian Penal Institutions*, presented a paper on "Recent Trends in Canadian Penal Institutions." (This paper will be published soon in the *Prison World*, edited by Mr. McGee.) President G. Herbert Smith of Willamette University was the host of the Society for the afternoon meeting, which was held on the Willamette University campus. Special attention was given to "The Sociology of War." Dr. Elon H. Moore of the University of Oregon presented a paper on "The Social Functions of War," which was dis-

cussed by Dr. William C. Smith of Linfield College. The second paper, "Morale in the Shipbuilding Industry," was written by Dr. Joseph Cohen of the University of Washington. Both of these papers will be published in the 1942 *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*. Appreciation is expressed by the Society to Dr. S. B. Laughlin of Willamette University for his excellent work as chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

RACES AND CULTURE

BRAZIL UNDER VARGAS. By KARL LOEWENSTEIN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, pp. xx+381.

In order that Americans may have a better understanding of present-day Brazil as an authoritarian state, this able political scientist examines its recent constitutional development, its system of government, the press and censorship, and the function of the universities in current affairs. He enlightens us concerning the German, Japanese, and Italian minorities as a major war problem for Brazil. Political scientists will find particularly valuable the presentation and interpretation of Brazil's constitution. Sociologists will note with interest the many changes in institutions which have been effected in Brazil under the present administration, but their chief interest will lie, perhaps, in Vargas as a leader. The author combines the inductive analysis of the constitutional lawyer with the realistic interpretation of the sociologist.

J.E.N.

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN. By CAREY MCWILLIAMS. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943, pp. 325.

In this volume on race relations in the United States the author marshals many facts on each topic that he presents. He quotes frequently from authorities. In proceeding from a democratic viewpoint he makes devastating charges about the ways in which democracy and freedom are far from being realized in racial matters. He points out how in our democracy the people have maintained a caste system relative to the Indian, the Chinese, the Mexican, the Japanese, the Filipino, and the Negro. This vulnerable caste system exists within a class system. The people who are kept confined within the limits of a caste are not considered "as good as we are"; they are not allowed to move out of their caste; and they are kept segregated in many ways, including social relationships. A Hitler-like doctrine of racism, that is, of racial superiority, is weakening the democratic philosophy of our country.

The author suggests, among other procedures, that some kind of Bureau of Minority Groups might be established as a part of our government for the purposes (1) of studying, (2) of making annual reports to Congress, and (3) of acting regarding the problems faced by minority groups. To his recommendations for improved legislation there needs to be added further consideration of basic racial attitudes. For example, how can people generally be helped to realize that they are fostering caste systems in our democratic-minded nation? Also, how can people who realize that they are promoting caste systems in their dealings, for instance, with second-generation Mexicans, Chinese, or Japanese, or with Negroes be helped to change their attitudes so that they can act more in line with the political and social philosophy of the nation? E.S.B.

THE REAL ITALIANS. A Study in European Psychology. By COUNT CARLO SPORZA. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. x+154.

The author revives the belief of his readers in the ability of the Italian people. He refers to fascist years in Italy as a vain show and as "only a brief interlude of unreality," and then proceeds to marshal the greatness of Italy's poets and painters and other artists into an effective picture. The Italian's love of freedom and dislike for fascist regimentation are emphasized. Family life is still vital in Italy, religion is real, and individualism is rife. Some conservative members of the upper classes in Italy have preferred to suppress the lower classes by force, but in so doing these conservatives are among "the most efficacious artificers of future revolutions." Mazzini, not Mussolini, is to be viewed as the savior of the Italian people.

CHILE. A Geographic Extravaganza. By BENJAMIN SUBERCASEAUX. Translated by ANGEL FLORES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, pp. viii +255.

Beginning with geographic observations, the author makes significant observations regarding the different types of people who live in the various areas. Special titles are given different regions, such as the land of tranquil mornings, the land of the snow-capped wall, the land of the trembling earth, the land of the blue mirrors. The author harbors no illusions regarding the social problems that beset Chile. The hacienda with its authoritarian rule, its prejudice, its tribal spirit, its low moral caliber "retards the social and spiritual evolution of Chile." At the other end of the scale is the *roto*, or poor peasant, and in between is a wide social chasm. The book needs more maps, and it would lend itself easily to the use of photographs of people and places.

SOCIAL WELFARE

A STUDY IN PUBLIC RELATIONS. By HAROLD P. LEVY. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, pp. 165.

This book tells the story of the operation of the Public Relations Division of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance. It is a useful guide to any public welfare agency seeking guidance and help in handling its relations with the public. It covers a five-year period (1937-1942), in which there were experienced all the problems growing out of unemployment, prosperity, and war. The subtitle, "Case History of the Relations Maintained between the Department of Public Assistance and the People of a State," reveals the range of activity. The Division used an effective combination of skilled leadership and staff participation with responsibilities definitely assigned. The report analyzes methods used to build public interest and support, presenting examples of press relations, correspondence, public speaking, publications, and personal service. There is a discussion of the effects of the usual type of public opinion and criticism upon the operation of a public welfare agency. Recognizing "that goodwill is not an automatic return for good work, this agency always has treated the subject of public relations openly and attentively, never apologetically or as an extra thing to be taken care of if and when some emergency situation arises." The study was made by the Russell Sage Foundation's Department of Social Work Interpretation.

H. F. HENDERSON

IN QUEST OF FOSTER PARENTS. By DOROTHY HUTCHINSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. 145.

This little book, written by a social worker for social workers, is not in any sense profound in its discussion of the theory and technique of finding foster homes, but it is sensible and interesting, and should prove helpful not only to persons dealing with child placement but also to prospective foster parents.

The introduction contains an excellent four-page thumbnail sketch of the historical development of home-finding, although its criticism of earlier techniques (nothing seems to have been right) sounds a bit smug. The best part of the book is contained in the three chapters entitled: "The Wish for Parenthood," "Introduction to a Foster Mother," and "Highlighting the Home Visit." Understanding the *incentive* of pro-

spective parents is basic. Their various motives are here analyzed briefly and the probable effects on both foster parents and child are pointed out. Foster parents are no longer selected merely because they are "benevolent" or "of good moral character." The social worker must be satisfied that personality needs of both child and foster parents will be fulfilled, at least to some degree. Interesting case illustrations are given of the reactions of prospective foster parents in both office and home interviews.

The chapter on "Refusing Foster Parents" states nothing beyond the obvious; the one on "Homefinding in Wartime" raises some good points but is too brief a treatment to make much of a contribution. Since the language of the book is not technical, laymen as well as social workers will find it interesting reading.

RAY E. BABER

POMONA COLLEGE

ONE WORLD. By WENDELL L. WILLKIE. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943, pp. 86.

Not only is this narrative intensely interesting but it is also profoundly significant for these times. Mr. Willkie has told of his 49-day trip encircling the world, a trip which covered a total of 31,000 miles and kept him in the air only 160 hours. And he has related it in such a way that the reader cannot put the book down until he has found out all there is to know. Out of it emerges some intimate glimpses of such well-known figures as Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, and generals Montgomery, Chennault, and Chu, as well as some very graphic pictures of social and industrial conditions in China, Siberia and Russia, Turkey and Iran. Willkie's observations on Soviet Russia should be read widely here. He notes that Russia under Stalin has created a going concern out of her society, that Russia is an important ally in this war, and that we must work with Russia in the postwar world if peace is to be real. Best of all, in his chapter on Russia is the full report of an interview with a 32-year-old superintendent of production in a plane factory. It is finely illuminating. Human nature is shown to be pretty much alike the world over despite different political backgrounds. Thinking of the future must be world wide in its comprehension of social situations. Mr. Willkie declares that if we revert to a narrow nationalism we shall lose our own liberties. One is strongly reminded of Woodrow Wilson's injunction that we must cultivate the friendship of the world. To cultivate that world friendship, we must see it as One World, whose people must be free politically and economically.

M.J.V.

AN INTRODUCTION TO GROUP THERAPY. By S. R. SLAVSON. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1943, pp. xvi+352.

This is an interesting account of a method of psychotherapy designed to meet the needs of those behavior-problem children who are excluded from normal group membership by virtue of their own inadequacies or poor environmental stimuli. The method, known as group therapy, has been experimented with and developed by the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York City since 1934. It is a treatment method accompanied by psychiatric case work and psychological service, and seems to have been markedly successful in a majority of the 750 children under review in the account. Taking as its basis the principle that man is a group animal, the method seeks to re-establish normal and satisfactory group relationships for those children who either have become hostile and destructive toward other people and groups or have withdrawn from them. Several principles of group therapy have developed out of the experiment, namely, (1) the creation of a permissive environment designed to release the infantile impulses; (2) activity catharsis, designed to establish the child in a kind of play-group relationship and leading to the annihilation of social hunger; (3) situational therapy, in which the child is led to cope with those actual social situations in which he has been out of adjustment. Four cardinal needs of the clients were met through the method's practices, these being the security of unconditional love of other people or parents, the sense of self-worth, an interest in leisure-time activities, and the opportunity to enjoy experiences leading to acceptance by the group. How all this has been accomplished by workers in the clinic becomes in reality an absorbing story. Five complete typical cases are reported, and the therapeutic process is stated in detail. For those who have to deal with such children, the book will be found to be immensely worth while. It is a book which is also revelatory of the value of cooperation in social living.

M.J.V.

CHRISTIAN BASES OF WORLD ORDER. Merrick Lectures for 1943. New York-Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943, pp. 253.

The twelve lectures included in this volume comprise the Merrick Lectures for 1943 of Ohio Wesleyan University. Vice-President Wallace discusses "Practical Religion in the World of Tomorrow." He fears that, unless the Western democracies and Russia come to a satisfactory understanding before World War II ends, a third world war will be inevitable. In presenting a Christian view of nature, Edgar S. Brightman of Boston University declares that "Devotion to justice and cooperation among men and women of all races and creeds produce the happiest life

known to many." Gonzalo Baez-Camargo of Mexico takes up Christianity and the race problem and asserts that the church must lead by its courageous support of all measures and movements directed at the elimination of race discrimination, by revising the present church organization with reference to racial groups, and by bringing about "deep and permanent change in attitude and spirit" regarding race relations. Among the other contributors to this book are John B. Condliffe, Umphrey Lee, and Francis J. McConnell. A high level of thinking is maintained throughout these lectures.

RADIO NETWORKS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. By THOMAS PORTER ROBINSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. xxvii+279.

The author presents in detail the many phases of the complex problem of the relationship of the federal government to the network broadcasting corporations, more particularly the conflict between the Federal Communications Commission and the National Broadcasting Company, and, to a lesser extent, the Columbia Broadcasting System. Quoting the *New York World Telegram*, "the angles to this dispute are so many . . . that to tell them would take a book." That is what the author has done, for he has written a book on the history of broadcasting, the development of national network companies, their support through advertising, federal regulation, radio censorship and free speech, the conditions of station and artist contracts, option time, network domination of broadcasting, and other problems involved in the control and ownership of stations by the networks.

The network industry and the Federal Communications Commission have been engaged in a legal battle to determine the status of the networks and the power of the government to regulate them. The Commission has charged the networks as having monopoly control over stations. The chief target has been the National Broadcasting Company with its two networks, resulting in the establishment of the Blue Network as separate from the original company. The underlying question is: What use can be made of radio broadcasting as a means of communication and how can this be accomplished most efficiently in the public interest?

The author concludes by stating four basic and generally accepted principles: "(1) broadcasting should be primarily financed by advertising; (2) there should be both networks and individual stations; (3) the government must assign the frequencies and power to be used; and

(4) some degree of Federal regulation of the social and economic aspects of broadcasting is necessary in the public interest." He feels that control of networks is necessary, but he feels also that the Commission has not fully explored the possibilities of enlarging the number of usable radio frequencies, including the synchronous operation of a network, which would allow an increase in the number of local broadcasting units as well as the establishment of more networks.

M.H.N.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF INDUSTRY. By S. HOWARD PATTERSON. Third Edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943, pp. xviii+536.

Dr. Patterson has revised and enlarged the scope of his text for the second time. While it is supposed to be an introductory text for the purpose of surveying the social problems of industry, it is very thorough in its delineation of disorganization in the field of labor relations. The sociological and political backgrounds are fortunately related here to the economic structure involved. The text has been nicely amended so as to incorporate the many changes which have occurred on the industrial scene since the inauguration of the New Deal. It is still one of the best of the texts for a general survey of the entire field of labor economics.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL THEORY

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION. New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1943, pp. xx+438.

There are twenty-five papers in this symposium, grouped under the following major topics: the problem of objective basis for value judgments; problems of education and public administration in their relation to democracy; the meaning of human dignity and human civilization; the historical process in its effect on art, music, and letters. The final papers present a historical synthesis as a background for the current intellectual, economic, and political crisis.

These papers are well written, thoughtful, and sound. Brief comments by other members of the conference follow each article and emphasize points through either endorsement or adverse criticism. Now, when democracy is on trial as never before, the findings of conferences such as this one ought to be made available for wide reading.

J.E.N.

POSTWAR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: An Authoritative Discussion by 23 Experts. Edited by SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1943, pp. 17.

Seymour E. Harris is Director of the Office of Export-Import Price Control, OPA, and is on leave from Harvard University. He is the author of such books as *The Economics of Social Security* and *The Economics of America at War*. In his Introduction, the editor says, "The contributors are all anxious that postwar economic policies assure the country a high level of employment and income and a fair distribution of the annual output." Differences among the writers are evident; but, in the words of the editor, "The authors agree, well-nigh unanimously, that, if private enterprise does not provide a high level of employment and a reasonably high standard of living, government intervention is imperative. . . . There is general agreement also that, at least in some stage of the postwar period, renewal of foreign lendings, extension of our social security program, and improvement of our tax structure and public works programs of at least a temporary nature will be required."

The eight parts of the book deal with (I) full employment; (II) the state of capitalism; (III) statistical information and economic policy; (IV) fiscal and related problems, with discussions of public works and city planning and rebuilding; (V) labor and social security; (VI) agriculture and related problems; (VII) international economic relations, with a discussion of "the political economy of regional or continental blocs"; and (VIII) postwar controls.

The contributors are for the most part connected with colleges and universities and with various government agencies, either as executives or as consultants, and have drawn upon both private and governmental research for the material. The editor points to the fact that "almost every government agency is devoting some time to the study of the problems of the postwar world," as well as various private research organizations. While he recognizes that some persons object to the study of postwar problems, believing that all energy should be devoted to winning the war, he takes the position that "the study of these problems *now* will not be disadvantageous to the victorious peace yet to come."

The book is a valuable contribution to the resource material available for study concerning both national and international problems of the postwar period, especially since it reflects the opinions of those persons intimately connected with the federal setup. The economic theories are frankly stated and should be carefully considered by the reader. Mr. Harris says that "proponents of public investment and policies directed toward increasing consumption and discouraging private saving in the postwar period are perhaps in the majority among the contributors.

There are, however, several of the authors who disavow the approach through artificial increases of purchasing power and demand." In spite of the differences, however, there is a general acceptance of the objectives for the postwar period as "full employment, high productivity, equitable distribution of income and the removal of trade barriers."

B.A.MCC.

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE. By MARK A. MAY.
New Haven: Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1943, pp. viii+281.

Timely indeed is this treatise on "the psychological foundations of war and peace." The author discusses seven familiar theories regarding the reasons for war, and then takes up his own particular explanation, namely, that "the conditions which determine social attitudes and opinions, particularly those that are involved in war or peace, are in large part products of social conditioning, although their origins may have been determined by geographical and ecological factors." No adequate explanation is given of the role of cultural factors as origins of war attitudes and peace attitudes, and of their relation to the psychological factors. Further, if the war and peace attitudes have their origins "in large part" in social conditioning, the questions may be raised: What are the other origins as seen by the author, and what is the relation of these remaining origins to the social conditioning factors?

In some detail the nature of the social conditioning process that leads to war and to peace is analyzed, particularly with reference to learning to hate and to fight, to fear and to escape, to love and to defend, and to follow leaders. The author ties up the war attitudes and the peace attitudes in a generic way without distinguishing as clearly as it might be wished between their differences in origins. Moreover, his treatment would be stronger if he would place more emphasis on the processes of warmaking and of peacemaking.

One of the best-developed chapters is that on "Aggressive Social Movements." Eight characteristics of aggressive mass movements are carefully defined. The author is also effective in his presentation of five reasons why it is important to win the peace before the present war is over. He holds that "an adequate psychological foundation for world peace has not yet been laid," that "the dominant cultures of the states of the world still sanction war" not only defensively but aggressively, that no international patriotism has developed yet, that identification across national boundaries is slow to be expressed, and that few people possess an international conscience. A real contribution to an understanding of both war and peace is made in this book.

E.S.B.

NEW HORIZONS IN CRIMINOLOGY. By HARRY ELMER BARNES and
NEGLEY K. TEETERS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943, pp. xxvi+1,069.

To indicate how comprehensive a treatment of crime, criminals, punishment, and prisons is offered by this book, space permits merely the mention of its principal divisions: the new perspective on crime in contemporary America; factors favorable to criminality; apprehending, convicting, and sentencing criminals; the historical origins of punishment for crime; the reform of the criminal law and the origins of the prison system; the reformatory system; problems of prison administration and the reformation of criminals; special problems in dealing with delinquents. Each of the eight parts mentioned includes several chapters, and the data have most thoroughly been brought up to date.

The authors have stressed the history of the subject in order to "debunk" and discredit erroneous notions. Crime and its treatment are presented in their social and cultural perspective. The futility of prevailing methods of ascertaining guilt is exposed. The authors repudiate retributive punishment, capital punishment, and imprisonment, and offer instead the essentials of a rational system of handling crime and criminals. Of special interest are the recommendations regarding the criminal code, the abolition of the lay jury as a means of ascertaining guilt, the use of probationary methods, and the substitution of rehabilitative treatment for retributive punishment. Briefly, the authors advocate the abolition of the penal institution and offer alternatives worthy of rational consideration. While admirable as a text in criminology, this book also invites general reading.

J.E.N.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A MODERN COMMUNITY. By W. LLOYD
WARNER and PAUL S. LUNT. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 460.

This book is Volume I of the "Yankee City Series," which is to include six volumes. The approach is that of social anthropology, applied to a case study of an old New England community. The conceptual framework is outlined in Chapter II and bears out the statement that "social anthropologists are essentially comparative sociologists." The "basic theoretical apperceptions" are indicated in the following quotation: "The concept of interrelation or interconnectedness of the multiple relations of the individual members, all in mutual dependence, and the concept of types of fundamental controls and adaptation guided our detailed investigations. The idea of structure and variety of structures—i.e., the family, the extended kin, the association, and age grading—was taken from social anthropology and the other social sciences. The obser-

vation that most, if not all, societies have a fundamental structure or structures which integrate and give characteristic form to the rest of the society was a leading idea in our theoretical equipment."

The major technique was the interview, and the data secured involved 17,000 men, women, and children. The discussion of the meaning and detailed methods of interviewing, supplemented by observation, is followed by that concerning the use of the questionnaire and schedule, case histories, biographies, life histories and autobiographies, genealogies and kinship charts, documents, records, newspapers, and several surveys including one by airplane. The research staff included 30 men and women.

Six social strata were identified, and class factors are shown to be influential in personal, economic, political, and social activities and affiliations. The six classes are identified as upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower. Chapter VII, "Profiles from Yankee City," presents interesting sketches illustrating the different social levels. Each sketch is a "composite drawing. No one actual individual or family in Yankee City is depicted, rather the lives of several individuals are compressed into that of one fictive person." A total of 70 tables and charts summarize the facts in concrete fashion.

There is much of value for the sociologist, especially for the student of community, for example, the chapters dealing with ethnic minorities, ecological areas, housing, marriage and family, and formal and informal associations and organizations.

B.A.MCC.

SOCIOCULTURAL CAUSALITY, SPACE, TIME. A Study of Referential Principles of Sociology and Social Science. By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1943, pp. ix+237.

The author reviews his thinking as stated in his four-volume work on *Social and Cultural Dynamics* and in his other books and presents a further development of his basic ideas. He restates and reinforces his position that the methods of sociology and of the social sciences can hold no subservience to physical science methods. "Physicochemical and purely biological phenomena do not have the component of immaterial meanings," and hence research methods that have developed in the physical sciences, for example, are entirely incompetent for the study of the field of human relations. Sociocultural phenomena, the subject matter of sociology and the other social sciences, have a different componential structure from that of physical phenomena. The social components are (1) immaterial, spaceless, and timeless meanings, (2) material vehicles that externalize the meanings, and (3) human agents. The author shows how physical science methods can never investigate the vital phenomena of meanings. Extensive chapters are given on sociocultural causality, socio-

cultural space, and sociocultural time; they offer appropriate principles of reference as a basis for social science studies. He points out how sociocultural causality operates differently from physiocausality, how sociocultural space is of a different order from physical space, and how sociocultural time is expressed in a number of ways that are unknown to terrestrial time.

The conclusion of the discussion is put into a brief statement of the "principles of integralist sociology" as conceived by the author. These principles are still in process of development, but they are in contradistinction to those "of the one-sided, pseudoempiricists." They repudiate scientific positivism and recognize no value in current "field" studies of operational sociology. In proposing a sociocultural basis for sociology the author accepts a well-known approach and makes it *the basis* of sociological study. He accepts the same categories of truth—causality, time, space, and so forth—as are used in the physical sciences, but gives these categories an entirely different content. In so doing, however, it appears that he unduly neglects his third componential factor, namely, human beings. He assigns to them the role of "agents that bear, use, and operate the meanings with the help of the material vehicles." To treat personality as an agent or to leave it in the hands of psychology would seem adequate. An integralist sociology or any other kind cannot afford to center attention too far away from human beings in association and cannot be regarded as adequate if it considers man as an agent merely, or as a subordinate physical phenomenon. Another idea that needs development is the term "meanings," inasmuch as the author hinges his whole argument so definitely upon this concept. Pertinent questions logically follow: (1) What is the relation of meanings to personality? (2) If human beings are "agents," how far do "meanings" have meaning for them?

E.S.B.

THE THEORY OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT. By PAUL M. SWEETZ.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. xiv+398.

In this book the author attempts to provide a comprehensive analytical study of Marxian Political Economy. The first part is entitled Value and Surplus Value; the second, the Accumulation Process; the third, Crises and Depressions. In part four, Imperialism, the chapters on the role of the state in economic life, the development of monopoly, the consequences of international economic relations, and the application of these principles in modern fascism are particularly interesting. The study is scholarly and well organized, and a worthy addition to a growing list of books written to expound Marxian principles.

J.E.N.

RELIGION AND THE PRESENT CRISIS. JOHN KNOX, Editor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. x+163.

In this book is gathered together a series of lectures delivered by various members of the Divinity School Faculty of the University of Chicago. The subjects deal with the relation of the church to the present crisis of civilization. How does the crisis affect the church? How does and can the church meet the problems that the crisis manifests?

The book probably presents as much unity as a compilation of lectures by different persons makes possible. Beginning with a discussion of Christianity as a two-world religion, the study proceeds with the function of the church in promoting democracy, redeeming the world from tyranny, developing a world brotherhood, and educating the people for such a postwar mind as will win for us a just and durable peace. The contributors to this volume are well aware of characteristic weaknesses in our culture pattern that make the problem confronting the church a difficult one.

Christianity is democratic, but so-called Christians have found it difficult to maintain fellowship with men of different races or with men of different social and religious concepts. In Western civilization Christianity has acted both as an agent of criticism and as an agent of redemption. Absolute justice in the making of peace is not possible, but the spirit of justice should prevail in the minds both of the peacemakers and of the persons affected by the terms. The book is an incisive analysis of the function of Christianity in dealing with the present problems of civilization.

G.B.M.

FANTASTIC INTERIM. By HENRY MORTON ROBINSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943, pp. 341.

This book challenges the past complacency of Americans. It is a caustic review of the manners and morals of the period between the signing of the Versailles Treaty and the attack on Pearl Harbor. It indicates that after the first World War we were not ready to accept the responsibility of world leadership. Instead of facing reality and participating in international government, the American people dissipated their energies on bathing-beauty contests, mass sports, goldfish swallowing, miniature golf, isolationism, stock gambling, schemes for getting something for nothing, and assorted escapisms.

Each of the presidential administrations during this interim is scrutinized and analyzed severely. It is purported that we went to sleep on a dream bed supported by the pillars of private enterprise, free popular education, political democracy, and religious freedom. It is claimed, however, that about two hundred families owned or controlled nearly half

the country's wealth, that the number of illiterates in the United States was nearly twice as large as the number of college graduates, that instead of helping to solve social problems and electing competent men to office we talked of ball game scores, and that religion degenerated to the practice of condemning minor vices.

The Harding administration is depicted as a sad tale of stupidity and corruption. The Coolidge period had the following as its magic formula: mass production+advertising+installment buying=prosperity now and forever. Hoover had difficulty in delegating his responsibilities to others, needlessly overworking himself and decreasing his efficiency as a result. Roosevelt's administration is seen as a great effort to make capitalism work.

An enlightened American would not tolerate a repetition of the mistakes of the interim from 1918 to 1941. It is hoped that we shall benefit from the errors of this period and face world problems with knowledge and courage. The book is well organized, and written to arouse the interest of the reader toward constructive international goals.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY

A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF COOPERATION. By J. J. WORLEY. Foreword by R. A. Palmer. Manchester, England: Cooperative Union, 1942, pp. vi+81.

The author is secretary of the Cooperative Productive Federation of England. He is described by R. A. Palmer as being "intimately concerned with the business side of cooperative endeavor, whether of consumers or producers, international or federal." And yet in this book he makes a "spiritual pilgrimage in search of the fundamentals of cooperation." He regrets the fact that the cooperative movement has been so busy with business details that it has not developed "an authoritative literature of its own" (here he quotes from *Consumers' Cooperation in Great Britain*). He then proceeds to develop a social philosophy of cooperation in terms of its principles and of its relation to the churches, to youth, to the individual, to social education, to law, and to reconstruction. His discussion of cooperative principles is built around the following eight concepts: association, universality, democracy, equity, voluntarism, efficiency, responsibility, and publicity. In treatment of the far-flung topics of this book, the author draws upon well-chosen source materials. He quotes extensively and well and weaves the ideas of others carefully into a framework of his own analysis. He sets his stakes into sound foundations, although he would be the first to say that he had not arrived at a well-rounded cooperative philosophy.

E.S.B.

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES IN THE AMERICAN PATTERN. Edited by ROBERT L. SMITH. April issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, New York, 1943.

The editor is Education Director of the Eastern Cooperative League, which is the regional federation of consumers' cooperatives on the North Atlantic seaboard. Each of the eight contributors is either an active participant in or a student of cooperatives. The keynote is set in the Editorial: "It is the purpose of this issue to review the significance of consumers' cooperation in relation to the groping of men everywhere for a way of life that meets the practical and ethical needs of the day. Co-operators believe that the world we shall have tomorrow is being fashioned in our day-to-day relationships now. They believe that international cooperation is feasible only as a foundation for cooperative attitudes and methods exists within each nation and within each community. They believe that consumer cooperatives are unique in providing the mechanics for applying principles of equity, universality, and brotherhood in everyday business. They believe in 'atomic action'—in tackling the problems that face all men as soon as two or three are ready and willing."

The articles included are as follows: "Cooperatives, an American Pattern" by C. J. McLanahan; "The Consumers' Cooperative as a Community Educational Force" by Emory S. Bogardus; "Recreation in Cooperatives" by Ruth Chorpenning Norris; "Cooperative Store Personnel as Educators" by Rudolph L. Treuenfels; "The Place of Consumers' Cooperation in the School Curriculum" by C. Maurice Wieting; "Can Corporations Go to School?" by S. R. Logan; "Credit Unions Mold Character" by J. Orrin Shipe; "Next Steps in Cooperative Education" and "Editorial" by Robert L. Smith. This is a brief, comprehensive, and convincing statement of the social values of cooperatives and their contribution to personality development.

B.A.MCC.

MESSIAHS: THEIR ROLE IN CIVILIZATION. By WILSON D. WALLIS. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. 213.

Dr. Wallis presents many of the anthropological, psychological, and sociological factors which account for the development of men who claim to be Messiahs. He shows that most of the great Messiahs result because of a social need, a prevalent messianic concept, and responsive individuals. It is interesting to know that Messiahs have been far more numerous in Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity than in either Shintoism or Confucianism. Since the time of Jesus there have been 144 men who claimed to be prophets possessing supernatural insight into divine phe-

nomena. From the analysis of these individual Messiahs it appears that many of them were probably mentally imbalanced, and the same might be said of their followers. The credulity of their followers was amazing. For instance, Moses of Crete, a Messiah, stood on a promontory overlooking the Mediterranean and ordered the faithful to throw themselves into the water, assuring them that if they did the water would part before them. They obeyed and many of them were drowned!

Students of religion and sociology will be particularly intrigued with the case studies of these Messiahs. On the whole, it may be said that the book is well written and organized. A splendid bibliography adds to its scholarship.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

THE CASE WORKER AND FAMILY PLANNING. New York: Planned Parenthood Federation of America, 1943, pp. 43.

A HISTORY OF COMMUNITY INTEREST IN A JUVENILE COURT. By ALLAN EAST. Portland, Oregon: Oregon Probation Association, 1943, pp. 32.

EGYPT AND THE SUEZ CANAL. By FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1943, pp. iv+68.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OF YOUTH. By SELDEN C. MENEFEE. Washington, D.C.: Work Projects Administration, 1942, pp. xxxii+152.

JEWISH MIGRATIONS. Past Experiences and Post-War Prospects. By EUGENE M. KULISCHER. New York: American Jewish Committee, 1943, pp. 52.

POPULATION TRENDS IN NEW YORK STATE, 1900 to 1940. By W. A. ANDERSON. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Station, 1942, pp. 71.

ARE WARS INEVITABLE? By JOHN R. SWANTON. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1943, pp. 36.

The answer is "no" if people should will to terminate war.

WISCONSIN'S CHANGING POPULATION. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, October, 1942. Madison: University of Wisconsin, pp. 90.

Discusses the aging population, the falling birth rates and death rates, the trends in marriages and divorces, the qualities that influence the quality of coming generations, and the role of education in population policy.

EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS. A Report of the Joint Commission of the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the London International Assembly. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. vi+112.

THE WORLD OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS. By SUMNER WELLES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. x+121.

In this volume of addresses delivered between September 25, 1939, and February, 1943, a number of international problems are discussed. A basic question that is raised is: "Can the democracies of the world again afford to permit national policies to be dictated by self-seeking minorities of special privilege?"

SOCIAL FICTION

JAKE HOME. By RUTH MCKENNY. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943, pp. 503.

How to make a radical is superbly told by Ruth McKenny in this novel, which deals with certain aspects of the struggles of coal miners and other industrial workers for recognition as human beings in the American scene during the nineteen-twenties. Take an intelligent youngster from an underprivileged coal miner's family, let him become gradually aware of the social and economic inequalities between men, show him the granitelike dispositions of the industrial barons and their callous misunderstanding of what deprivation may mean, invest him with an acute sense of justice and a fighting heart—and there you have a basic formula.

The novelist takes Jake Home from his birth in 1901 through to the end of the Hoover administration in 1932. As a youngster, red-headed Jake was precocious, memorizing at will passages ranging from books on the modern sciences to the poetic lines of Shakespeare. All about the mining town of his birth, he saw broad stretches of poverty and degrading toil. He saw death lurk in the mines, his own father being one of the victims of a coal-mine disaster. Then the union came and with it Jake's introduction to union philosophy. It did not take long for Jake to see that the salvation of the miners lay in solidarity gained through organization. Thereafter, Jake was marked to be the leader of the underprivileged worker, even though he had to flee the mining town. Altoona, Pennsylvania, gave him refuge. Here he got a job with the railroad and advanced steadily. Here also he found Margaret, a girl with ambition to rise, and married her. Jake's inventive genius flowered in

the shops and soon he got the raise that permitted him to buy a home. Then came the big strike on the railroad, and Jake remembered the coal miners. His sympathies for the workers caused him to neglect Margaret and the baby and defeated his further chances for advancement. His abilities to organize men singled him out, and in a moment of blind fury in the strike Jake lashed at the police. Margaret, who never quite understood this phase of Jake's character, refused to come to the hospital to see him. And so, when he had sufficiently recovered, Jake left for New York.

In the big town Jake began working as organizer for the Trade Union Educational League. Marx, Lenin, and the revolutionary writings of the Communists next engaged his attention. The case of Sacco and Vanzetti was at its height just then, and Jake's sympathies were extended to those two unfortunates. Jake Home, however, never for one moment lost sight of his final goal to free the working class from oppression. Miss McKenny presents a striking psychological study of her hero, and offers a first-rate opportunity for studying the motivations of the underdogs. The portraiture of Margaret's mother is a gem, and the author's gifted knowledge of people in general makes the novel rich in its grasp of social situations.

M.J.V.

DOLLAR A SHARE. By ADAM ALLEN. New York: Random House, 1943, pp. 247.

The works of fiction dealing with the cooperative movement in any of its manifold phases are few and for the most part inadequately written. This story is distinctly above the average in its field. It maintains suspense; it is well written; and, moreover, good judgment is shown in the way in which the practical problems of cooperative action are introduced. Sound cooperative principles underlie the unfolding plot. The points are introduced indirectly and without recourse to didactic discussions.

The story begins with the failure of a board of education to provide athletic equipment for the boys of a junior high school in a small town. By forming a cooperative sporting goods store with a cooperative rental library attached the members meet their local athletic needs, but in so doing learn to work together, and, still more important, they develop a cooperative spirit that completely submerges the goal of patronage savings which was very definite at the outset. Even the elders admit that the co-op is a valuable organization in the community not alone because of the lessons in economics that it teaches the members but chiefly because of the way in which it lifts self-centered boys out of narrow jealousies into tolerant, socially broadminded citizenship.

E.S.B.

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